SIVA IN MEDIEVAL INDIAN LITERATURE

A. SARKAR

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PREFACE

Śiva is one of the most important gods in the Brahmanical pantheon. But there is no individual work dealing with his various aspects as found in both earlier and later works. Śiva has all divine qualities, but possesses, at the same time, all traits, good or bad, of human beings. In him man and god have become one.

In the present book which was submitted earlier as a doctoral thesis in 1969 and subsequently accepted for the degree of the Doctor of Philosophy, Calcutta University, I have studied Śiva in his various aspects and have tried to show him as he is represented in medieval Indian literature. Though I have not been able to present everything in detail, yet no other single work, so far published, probably deals with so many aspects of the god.

I have consulted the important sources, and made a comparative study of the evidence of earlier and later works. The majority of the works consulted by me are in Bengali and Hindi, but literary works of other languages have also been taken into account, as and when necessary. The evidence of epigraphy, iconography and philosophy has been considered.

I have usually quoted passages from early and medieval works in support of my arguments, especially in footnotes, and in most of the cases, they have been translated into English.

I have discussed the subject in three Chapters, the first of which begins with an introduction dealing with the evolution of the god. The character of the god has been divided into two broad divisions, and the major characteristics have been discussed in Chapter II, while the minor specialities of the god are dealt with in the following Chapter. At the end, I have drawn the conclusion that, in the medieval Indian

works, there is the amalgamation of human behaviours with divine manners in Śiva thus establishing the truth that God enchained is man and man unchained is God.

For my success in writing out this book, I have to express my sincere gratitude and thanks to Dr. D. C. Sircar, M.A., Ph.D., F.A.S., F.R.A.S., F.R.N.S., Ex-Carmichael Professor and Head of the Department of Ancient Indian History & Culture, Calcutta University under whom I worked for my doctoral degree. I can never be sufficiently grateful for the patience and thoroughness with which he went through the entire thesis and for his many valuable suggestions. Without his able guidance and ungrudging help, it would not have been possible for me to complete the work. I also thank Shri A. K. Bhattacharyya, M.A., P.R.S., F.M.A., Director, Indian Museum, Calcutta, who allowed me to use photographs of some interesting objects in the Indian Museum Collection. I am thankful to Shri Shankar Bhattacharyya, Proprietor, Punthi Pustak, Calcutta, who kindly took an interest in the work and offered to publish it. Last, but far from the least, I have to thank Shri Gauri Shankar Chatterji, who ably typed out the pages of the mss. within a a short time and Shri Santosh Bhattacharyya, Proprietor, Sri Ramkrishna Printing Works, Calcutta, for his promptness in printing the book and in accomodating me in all matters of printing difficulties.

A work of this kind is obviously based on the researches of scholars of Indology including literature, both Indian and foreign. For the merit of thc book I am indebted to them all and for the errors, I myself shoulder the responsibility.

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AMAL SARKAR

ABBREVIATIONS

AI	*Ancient India*
ASS	Ānandāśrama Sanskrit Series, Poona
AV	*Atharvaveda*
BI	*Bibliotheca Indica*, Calcutta
BSM	Basumatī Sāhitya Mandir, Calcutta
BSP	Baṅgīya Sāhitya Parishad, Calcutta
BSOS	*Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies*,
BSS	Bombay Sanskrit Series
CII	*Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*
CUP	Calcutta University Press
DUS	Dacca University Studies
Ep. Ind.	*Epigraphia Indica*
ERE	*Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*
GP	Gītā Press, Gorakhpur
GVSRS	*Gujrat Vernacular Society Research Series*, Ahmedabad
HOS	Harvard Oriental Series
Ind. Ant.	*Indian Antiquary*
IHQ	*Indian Historical Quarterly*
J*AOS*	J*ournal of the American Oriental Society*
JASB	*Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*
J Ant. SB	*Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay*
JBBRAS	*Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*
JBORS	*Journal of Bihar & Orissa Research Society*
J*DL*	*Journal of the Department of Letters*, University of Calcutta
J*RAS*	*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*
KB	*Kaushītaki Brāhmaṇa*
KMS	Kāvyamālā Series

NSP	Nirṇaya Sāgara Press, Bombay
RV	*Ṛigveda*
SB	*Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*
SBE	*Sacred Books of the East*, Oxford
SBH	*Sacred Books of the Hindus*, Allahabad
SPP	*Sāhitya Parishat Patrikā*, Calcutta
TA	*Taittirīya Āraṇyaka*
TS	*Taittirīya Saṁhitā*
TSS	Trivandrum Sanskrit Series
YV	*Yajurveda*

CONTENTS

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Perhaps in no other god of the Hindu pantheon are noticed so many different—more often contradictory—habits, traits and attitudes as in Śiva. This god has his Ṛigvedic prototype in Rudra. It is interesting to note a few characteristics of the Vedic Rudra because Rudra's chief interest lies in the circumstance that he forms a connecting link between the Vedic religion and the later Śaiva worship. Although the term *śiva* has been used in the Vedas, it meant simply 'propitious' or 'benevolent'. In the *Atharvaveda*, *śiva* is not the epithet of a particular god. It was often used as soothing and flattering address to the terrible god Rudra.[1] Then through a process of social and cultural amalgamation there came a resurgence of the ancient deity, Rudra, and he became the supreme god of a large section of the Indian people.

The god Rudra belongs to the aerial (*antarīkshasthāna* or *madhyamasthāna*) group in the Vedic classification of gods.[2] In the *Ṛigveda*, he is one of the minor atmospheric gods (*antarīksha deva*) and a subordinate deity; but, in later mythology he occupies a prominent position and, still later, he is identified with the popular god, Śiva. In the *Ṛigveda*, he is the terrific god whose wrath has to be appeased by offerings. Rudra is the subject of only three hymns in the *Ṛigveda*,[3] shares one with Soma,[4] is referred to in one hymn as the father of the Maruts,[5] and is mentioned in all about seventy-five

1. Whitney, *JAOS*, Vol. III, pp. 318-19; *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, Vol. III, pp. 307-11.
2. *Ṛigveda*, i, 139; Macdonell, *Vedic Mythology*, pp. 118-19.
3. *Ibid*, i, 43; i, 114; vii, 46.
4. *Ibid.*, vi, 74.
5. *Ibid.*, ii, 33.

times.[6] The character ascribed to Rudra in the hymns of the *Ṛigveda* is heterogeneous and frequently indefinite. The hymn ascribed to the sage Kaṇva Ghaura deserved special mention.[7] It describes the god as wise, bountiful and peaceful, as the strongest and most glorious of beings, as lord of the world, etc. These appellations, as we shall see in course of our discussion, bear close affinity with those of Śiva.

The derivation and meaning of the word 'Rudra' are dubious.[8] If the sense of 'crying' or 'howling' is associated with it, we are reminded of Rudra's association with the Maruts, he being the father of the Maruts who are famous for their howling. As regards the origin of Rudra, we find different stories in different sources.[9] This god has imbibed

6. Muir, *Original Sanskrit Texts*, Vol. IV, p. 399.

7. *RV*, i.43 : What could we say to Rudra, the wise, the most liberal, the most powerful, that is most welcome to his heart,

So that Aditi may bring Rudra's healing to the cattle, to men, to cow and kith,

So that Mitra, that Varuṇa, that Rudra hear us, and all the united Maruts.

We implore Rudra, the lord of songs, the lord of animal sacrifices, the possessor of healing, wealth, and his favour.

He who shines like the bright sun, and like gold, who is the best Vasu among the gods.

May he bring health to our horse, welfare to ram and ewe, to men, to women, and to the cow (Muir's translation in *Original Sanskrit Texts*, Vol. IV, p. 421).

8. Macdonell, *Vedic Mythology*, p. 77 : The word is generally derived from the root *rud* (to cry), and the term *Rudra* is interpreted as the 'howler'. Grassman connects it with *rud* meaning 'to shine', or, according to Pischel, 'to be ruddy'. *Rudra* would thus mean the 'bright' or the 'red' one.

9. In the *Yajurveda* (IV. 18.21), the following account of Rudra's origin is given : "The lord of beings (Prajāpati) was a householder and Ushā was his wife. A boy was born (to them) in a year. Prajāpati said to him, 'Boy, why do you weep since you have been born after toil and austerity ?' The boy said, 'My evil was not taken away, and a name has not been given to me. Give me a name.' Prajāpati said, 'thou art Rudra......' He was Rudra because he wept" (*The Sacred Books of the East*, Vol. 41, pp. 158-59). In the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (1.1.38), it is said

traits from different gods. Since Indian traditions derive Rudra from the root *rud* (to cry), scholars like Weber think that the deity having relation with lightning and roaring of clouds had close association with the god of storm and himself represented the howling of the storm.[10] A different view is presented by scholars like Segerstedt and S. K. Chatterji, according to whom Rudra or Śiva is the god of the Savaras, Kirātas and Nishādas, the aboriginal tribes of India.[11] In the *Yajurveda* this deity is essentially a combination of the two gods of fire and storm, both being alike in their sound.[12] Rudra is associated with fire (*agni*) in the *Ṛigveda*,[13] *Atharvaveda*,[14] *Taittirīya Saṁhitā*[15] and *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*.[16] The *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* gives an interesting

that the lord of beings (Prajāpati) laid seed in Ushā and a boy (*Kumāra*) was born in a year. In another passage of the same *Brāhmaṇa* (3.6.1) Ushā is said to have borne to Rudra, and not to Prajāpati, his four sons, Agni, Vāyu, Āditya and Chandramā. In the *Taittirīya Saṁhitā* (1.5.1), there is another *ākhyāyikā* as regards the origin of the name Rudra. The gods and *asuras* contended and the former, having defeated their enemies, desired to recover their property, kept deposited with Rudra. When they sought to take it from him by force, he wept. From the fact that Rudra wept (*ārodit*, from the root *rud*), he was called by the name Rudra.

10. *Indian Studies*, ii, pp. 19-22.

11. Weber in *JAOS*, No. 36, pp. 212, and Chatterji in *The Origin and Development of Bengali Language*, pt. I, pp. 41ff. : Chatterji says that *Śivan* (*Chivan*) is a Tamil word meaning 'red' and the divinity was known to the early Aryans as *Nīla-lohita* (the Red one with blue throat). The same writer remarks that a Dravidian god of the mountains and wastes, a Red god, probably had his name translated into the Aryan language as *Rudra* and was then identified his the Aryan god, Rudra.

12. Macdonell, *Mythology of All Races*, Vol. VI, p. 329.

13. *RV*, 2.1.6.

14. *AV*, 7.87.1.

15. *TS*, 5.4.3 ; 5.5.7.

16. *ŚB*, 8.1.3, 10-17.

account. It says that *Agni* is a mild appellation of Rudra.[17] Kægi, however, does not accept the identification of Rudra with Agni.[18] Arbman holds that Rudra's dangerous nature led his votaries to call him by the name 'fire'.[19] In this connection, Hillebrandt's view is worth quoting. According to him, Rudra is the deity of the hot season, who appears in conjunction with the archer Kriśānu and with Tishya associated with a constellation.[20] In the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* there is an interesting account of a constellation with Rudra as one of the members. According to this *Brāhmaṇa*, the slaying of Prajāpati has an astronomical significance. Prajāpati takes the form of a *mṛiga* (deer), Rudra takes that of a *mṛigavyādha* (hunter) and Prajāpati's daughter appears as an antelope. Rudra pierces Prajāpati with an *ishu* (arrow), the *trikāṇḍa*, which belongs to the sky.[21] There are some scholars again who associate Rudra with the world of the dead and refer to the belief that the souls of the dead rush along in the storm winds and that, besides being terrible, they bless their descendants. It may be that in the later period the belief was responsible for Śiva's association with

17. *Ibid.*, 8.1.14-17 : *Agnir vai sa devaḥ tasya etāni nāmāni Sarvaḥ iti yathā prāchyāḥ āchakshate Bhavaḥ iti yathā Bāhikāḥ Paśūnāṁ patiḥ Rudro'gnir iti / tāny asya aśāntāny eva itarāṇi nāmāni / Agnir ity eva śāntātmam /* Agni is a god. These are his names, *viz.*, 'Sarva' as the eastern people call him ; 'Bhava' as the Bāhikas call him. His other names are Paśūnāṁ patiḥ 'the lord of animals', Rudra and Agni. These are his ill-omened names. Agni is his mild appellation. See Muir, *op.cit.*, Vol. II, p. 70, and Vol. IV, pp. 283ff. & 289ff.

18. Kaegi, *The Ṛigveda*, p. 38.

19. Arbman, *Rudra*, pp. 48-49.

20. *Vedische Mythologie*, II, pp. 179-208 : In this context, it is interesting to note that in Bengal, during the early part of the month of Vaiśākha, there is frequent occurrence of storm which is generally called *Kālavaiśākhī* ; one of the later appellations of Rudra being Kāla ; Kālavaiśākhī is sometimes called Rudravaiśākhī (Tagore, *Sañchayitā*, p. 109).

21. Hillebrandt, *op.cit.*, II, p. 204.

the cremation grounds and his great attachment to the realm of the dead, being called the god of death.[22]

But the relation of Rudra with the dead is not easily acceptable. Rudra, like Śiva, never appears in any close connection with the dead; he is neither the King of the dead nor does he lead them to his own realm. The god of death has his place in the south while Rudra has his in the north.[23] It is, therefore, plausible that the affinity between the two gods has been drawn simply because both Yama, the god of death, and Rudra have terrible characteristics.

Scholars like Oldenberg compare Rudra with such figures as the gods or demons of mountains and woods, like Mars Silvanus, the Fauni, and so on.[24] It is interesting to note that Rudra has connection with the north and the mountains regarded as important by the Vedic Indians were in the north. Śiva, like his Vedic prototype, was also intimately connected with mountains having his abode in the mountains, and a wife whose father is a mountain.[24a]

So far as Rudra's appearance is concerned, he bears close resemblance in many respects with Śiva. In the *Ṛigveda*, Rudra is said to have braided hair like Pushā and a brown complexion.[25] The epithet *Kapardī*, which is applied to him, is perhaps because of the wearing of his hair in a peculiar braid. In this connection, Muir's observation is interesting. According to him, "...the term has probably in the Veda a different signification—one now forgotten—although it may have suggested the appearance of Śiva in such a head-dress,"

22. Hopkins, *JAOS*, XVI, pp. 191-93. *cf.* Śiva's name Mahākāla.

23. That one name of Śiva is Īśa or Iśāna may point to the abode of Śiva also in the north. The north-east corner of the hemisphere is called *Iśānakoṇa*.

24. Warde, F., *Roman Festivals*, pp. 258ff. Fowler believes that diseases swoop down on the world of man from the mountains. See also the same author's *Roman Ideas of Deity*, pp. 93-94.

24a. The subject has been dealt with in detail afterwards.

25. *RV*, 1.114.5 ; 2.33.5.

in which fashion he is sometimes identified with Agni. *Kapardī* may intimate the god's head being surrounded by radiating flame, or the word may be an interpolation.[26] This epithet, however, in the later period was applicable to Śiva.[27]

Rudra wears golden ornaments and a glorious necklace (*nishka*).[28] He has beautiful lips and firm limbs. He is the father of the Maruts whom he brought forth from shining udder of Prishṇi (the cow representing the storm cloud). He sits in a chariot, is fierce like a terrible beast and is called a bull as well as the ruddy boar of heaven. He is exalted and is the mightiest of the mighty. He is implored to save his worshippers from his bolt which destroys cows and men. Dread of his wrath and shafts is frequently expressed. His lightning shaft (*vidyuta*) discharged from the sky traverses the earth.[29] He is once said[30] to hold the thunderbolt in his own hand.[30] These are Rudra's terrific aspects

26. Muir, *op.cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 201-5.

27. Gopinatha Rao (*Elements of Hindu Iconography*, Vol. I, pt. 1, pp. 27, 180) refers to words like *jaṭābandha, jaṭāvalaya, jaṭābhāra* and *jaṭāmakuṭa*. The *jaṭāmakuṭa* is, as the name indicates, made up of twists of matted hair done into the form of a tall cap. The *jaṭāmakuṭa* is prescribed for Brahmā and Rudra (Śiva) among the gods, and for Manonmaṇi among the goddesses. Rao describes *jaṭāmakuṭa* as below; five *jaṭās* or braids of matted hair are taken and tied into a knot three inches in height by coiling them into one or three loops, the remaining braids being bound and taken through to be left hanging on both sides. (See Gopinatha Rao, *op.cit.*, pl. VII, Figs. 1, 2 and 3). *Jaṭā* means, therefore, hairs of Śiva as an ascetic; but in modern Bengal it denotes any matted hair. Sometimes this type of braided hair is also known as *morogjaṭā*. In this fashion, the matted locks spirally go upward like the top of a shell.

28. *RV*, 2.33.10.

29. *RV*, 2.33.5; 7.46.3. See also Tagore's poem *Meghadūta* in *Sañchayitā*, (pub. Viśvabhāratī), pp. 98-99.

30. *Ibid.*, 2.33.3. *cf.* the Rudra (Śiva) image (No. A24133) from Orissa in possession of the Indian Museum, Calcutta (see pl. No. I).

and much supplication was needed to humour him in good temper. His nature is clearly revealed in the Ṛigvedic prayers to Rudra to accept the oblation (*havīs*) and to spare the lives and property of the worshipper and his kinsmen.[31] In fact, in the *Ṛigveda*, sacrifice was only a means of influencing the gods in favour of its offerer. Rudra was even once called man-slayer;[32] but his fierce character is not manifested as that of Indra and Śiva in their onslaughts on the demons. Thus we find that Rudra is looked upon as malevolent in many passages of the *Ṛigveda*;[33] but he is also regarded as the lord and protector of the world (Prajāpati).[34] And, from this aspect, he is taken to be wise, beneficient, bountiful, easily invoked and auspicious—a verisimilitude with the qualities of Śiva. Rudra's two epithets, *jalāsha* (probably cooling) and *jalāsha-bheshaja* (possessing cooling remedies) suggest his healing powers.[35] The *Ṛigveda* refers to these healing powers of Rudra.[36] From this aspect the god is called the greatest physician, the doctor of doctors, and in the beneficient rains loosened by the storm is reflected his character as a healing god.[37] Thus, the storm in its destructive aspect explains the

31. *Ibid.*, 2.33.7; 5.44.5.
32. *Ibid.*, 4.3.6.
33. *Ibid.*, 7.29.4; 4.17.2; 2.33.2.
34. *Ibid.*, 4.3.8.
35. Macdonell, *op.cit.*, p. 76: The term *jalāsha* means *mūtra* (rain). Rudra's rain is denoted by *mīḍhvaṁśa*. See also Keith, *The Religion and Philosophy of the Veda and the Upanishad*, pp. 143ff.
36. *R.V*, 1.64.6; 2.33.7:

Kva sya te Rudra mṛilayākur
hasto yo asti bheshajo jalāshaḥ |
apabhartā rapaso daivyasyā-
bhī nu mā vṛishabha chakshamīthāḥ ||

Where, O Rudra, is that merciful hand of thine which is healing and cooling? As remover of injury coming from the gods, do thou, O Bull, now be compassionate towards me (Macdonell's translation in *A Vedic Reader for Students*, pp. 61-62).

37. In this respect P. B. Shelley's poem *Ode to the West Wind* is noteworthy, (*Shelley*, ed. A.M.D. Hughes, pp. 135-36).

malevolent spirit of the god, while its fertilizing and purifying function is the basis of his healing and beneficial powers.

Rudra bears also the epithet Tryambaka, which appears to mean 'having three sisters or mothers ;' it is plausible that this term alludes to the three divisions of the universe. In a Ṛigvedic hymn, the term *Vṛishabha* is applied to him five times.[38] In one of the stanzas in this hymn also occurs the term *Kumāra*. From these references, we can see that much of the stuff from which Śaiva legends developed is as as old as the oldest part of the *Ṛigveda*.

In the *Yajurveda* and *Atharvaveda* many more epithets of this god are available. The multitude of epithets perhaps shows the god's manifold activities or indicates his increasing popularity. In the *Atharvaveda* we get a curious description of his appearance.[39] His belly is blue, his back red and his neck blue, mention being also made of his mouth and teeth ; that is to say, a practically complete anthropomorphic form has been given to him. The *Yajurveda* mentions him as clothed in a skin and as dwelling in the mountains.[40] In view of both the Vedas Śiva's appearance and his epithets like *nīlakaṇṭha* (blue-necked), *giriśa* (lord of the mountains), *kṛittivāsa* (wearer of a tiger skin), etc., are worthy of note.

In the *Brāhmaṇas*, Rudra is more powerful. Even the gods are afraid of him, lest they be killed by Rudra. Under the name of Mahādeva (the great god) he is essentially the slayer of cattle, and is even prone to slay men. And every effort is made to propitiate the fierce god. The *Śatarudriya* litany of the *Yajurveda*, the *Brāhmaṇas* (specially the *Aitareya* and *Śatapatha*) and the *sūtra* works (like the *Āśvalāyana Gṛihya Sūtra*) are the sources from which we know a great deal of this 'complex' god. The *Śatarudriya* hymns feel his presence in almost every aspect of nature—in the mountains, the woods,

38. *RV*, 2.33.
39. *AV*, 15.1.7-8 ; 11.26.
40. *YV*, 12.48.

the paths and the streams. It is, therefore, prescribed that the ritual offerings should be made to Rudra in various places and on varied occasions. Among the distinctive names used for this god in the *Kauśitakī Brāhmaṇa,* Mahādeva and Īśāna are the most important.[41] In the late *Taittirīya Āraṇyaka,* one of the five faces of Śiva as Pañchatuṇḍa is known as Īśāna, the other four being Sadyājāta, Vāmadeva, Aghora and Tatpurusha.[42] In later works like the *Āśvalāyana gṛihya sūtra,* the names Hara, Mṛida, Śiva and Śaṅkara are ascribed to Rudra. The first three names refer to Rudra's peaceful nature; but, Hara, derived from the root *hṛi,* 'to steal', reminds us of the god's association with robbers and thieves.[43]

From the accounts of the Epics and *Purāṇas* it seems as if the god does no longer like to be confined to heaven, but is always eager to play the role of a common man. Sometimes he leads the life of an ascetic free from earthly contaminations while often he is inclined to take revenge on his enemies. By playing the roles of a warrior, a householder and a peasant, he is, as it were, more a man than a god.[44]

In the Epics, we find the Vedic Rudra transformed into Śiva. The ordinary name by which Śiva is known during this period is Mahādeva, 'the great god'. The word occurs in the *Tāṇḍya Mahābrāhmaṇa*[45] and its origin is discussed in

41. *KB,* 6.1-9.

42. *TA,* 10.43-47.

43. In the *Shanmukha Śāstra,* Śiva's son, Kumāra, is referred to as the lord of thieves. This subject has been discussed in detail elsewhere. See also f.n. No. 127.

44. These aspects will be discussed in detail afterwards.

45. 6.9.7. *Yāṁ samāṁ Mahādevaḥ paśūn hanyād ityādi,* 'in whatever year Mahādeva slays cattle'.

the *Mahābhārata*.[46] The *Kauśītaki Brāhmaṇa*[47] contains a section calling the god Bhava, Śarva, Paśupati, Mahādeva, Rudra, Īśāna and Aśani. According to the *Mahābhārata*, Mahādeva assumes the forms of many gods (*e.g.* Brahmā, Vishṇu, Indra and Rudra) and of men, goblins, demons, barbarians, birds, wild beasts, reptiles and fishes.[48]

We see a number of votaries of Śiva in the *Mahābhārata* and the *Rāmāyaṇa*. In the *Vanaparva*, it is said that Jayadratha, after being captured by Bhīshma and released at the request of Yudhishṭhira, worshipped Mahādeva.[49] The *Śāntiparva* states how Paraśurāma worshipped Mahādeva on Mount Gandhamādana and obtained his celebrated axe.

46. 6.4.8. Once the Asuras obtained a boon from Brahmā to possess three castles which could be destroyed by one who would be able to subdue them by a single arrow. The gods, instructed by Brahmā, approached Śiva who told them that he alone could not destroy the castles, but that, with half of his strength, they themselves would be able to accomplish the task. The gods, being unable to sustain half of his strength, proposed that he himself should undertake the work with half of their own strength. Mahādeva agreed and, as a result, became stronger than all other gods. For this, he began to be called Mahādeva. See Muir, *op.cit.*, Vol. IV, p. 223.

47. 6.1-9.

48. It has been suggested that in the age of the Brāhmaṇas, old polytheistic ideas were changing into a new theistic belief. See *JARS*, 1878, p. 191.

49. 3.77-101 : *jagāma rājan duḥkhārto Gaṅgādvārāya Bhārata / sa devaṁ śaraṇaṁ gatvā Virupākshaṁ Umāpatiḥ // tapaśchachāra vipulaṁ tasya prīto Vṛishadhvajaḥ / baliṁ svayaṁ pratyagṛihṇāt prīyamāṇas Trilochanaḥ / varaṁ chāsmai dadau devaḥ sa jagrāha cha tachchṛiṇu //*

He went, O king, distressed with grief, to Gaṅgādvāra (Haridvāra). Then, resorting to the ugly-eyed lord of Umā as his refuge, he practised austerities for a long time. Gratified at this, the three-eyed god, whose ensign is the bull, himself received his oblations, and offered him a boon which be accepted.

Arjuna also won the Pāśupata weapon by appeasing this god.[50] Besides Jayadratha, Paraśurāma and Arjuna, Jarāsandha was a great devotee of Mahādeva.[51]

The *Mahābhārata* includes the *Piśāchas* among the Devas in connection with the exaltation of Śiva.[52] The Rākshasas in the *Rāmāyaṇa* are sometimes favoured by the great god (Mahādeva). Indrajit, son of Rāvaṇa, worshipped Śiva and won the god's favour.[53] Vibhīshaṇa was also received by

50. *Mahābhārata*, 12.84-88. In this connection, the famous *Śatarudriya* prayer, which Arjuna and Kṛishṇa uttered for getting celestial weapons, is worth quoting :

namaḥ Kṛitsnāyatayā dhāvate satvanāṁ pataye namo namaḥ sahamānāya nivyādhine āvyādhinīnāṁ pataye namo namo nishangine kakubhāya stenānāṁ pataye namo namo nicherave paricharāya araṇyānāṁ pataye namaḥ |

'to him who runs in full stretch, to the lord of the spirits, to the conqueror, to the piercer, to the lord of thieves, to the robber, to the prowler, to the lord of woods' see Muir, *op.cit.*, Vol. IV, pp. 193, 323.

As regards Rudra's being the lord of thieves there is an interesting reference in the following line *Rudra līlayā chorādirūpaṁ dhatte*, "Rudra in sport assumes the forms of thieves and the like".

51. *Mahābhārata*, 5.7.81-88 : The story runs that Yudhishṭhira proposed to celebrate a *rājasūya* sacrifice in order to indicate that he was the most powerful of all contemporary monarchs. Kṛishṇa told him that he would not be able to perform the sacrifice during the lifetime of Jarāsandha who had decided to sacrifice all defeated kings to the glorious Mahādeva, the lord of Umā. Kṛishṇa confessed that, out of the dread for Jarāsandha, he and his family had to desert Mathurā for the city of Dārāvatī, so that Jarāsandha became invincible by the grace of Mahādeva.

52. 13.14.4 ; 13.45 ; 51.2.

53. *Sundarakāṇḍa*, 78.17 ; 19.50 :

ayam eko mahārājā Indrajit kshapayishyati |
anena cha mahārāja Maheśvaram anuttamam |
ishṭvāyajñaṁ varo labdho loke paramadurlabhaḥ ||

It is said that with the aid of the Brāhmaṇa Uśanas, Indrajit celebrated sacrifices and made offerings to Mahādeva who appeared before him and gave him boons. Indrajit had the figure of a serpent, made of gold, as his banner. According to Gorresio, the serpent was the special symbol in the worship of the Hamite races. The same scholar says that

Mahādeva with favour when he deserted his brother Rāvaṇa.[54] But, these references do not establish that the Rākshasas in the *Rāmāyaṇa* were always worshippers of Śiva. Rāvaṇa, although a devotee of Śiva, is represented as an ardent observer of the Vedic ritual.[55] It is said that he was buried with the usual Brāhmaṇical ceremonies, though the commentator says that these Brāhmaṇas were *Rākshasa-dvijāḥ*.[56] These instances show that the author of the poem did not intend to represent Śiva especially as an object of adoration to the Rākshasas. Rāvaṇa obtained the gift of invincibility from Brahmā and not from Śiva. A Rākshasa named Sukeśa had formerly received a boon from Mahādeva and Pārvatī, but his three sons, as the lords of Laṅkā, were defeated by Vishṇu and compelled to take refuge in the nether world (*pātāla*).[57] It, therefore, appears that the *Rāmāyaṇa* does not supply sufficient grounds for regarding the non-Aryan tribes of southern India as especially addicted to the worship of Śiva. These references also probably support the views of those scholars who are in doubt about the non-Aryan origin of the god.

Coming back to the *Mahābhārata*, we find Śiśupāla objecting to the honour shown to Kṛishṇa.[58] According to Lassen, Śiśupāla was an adherent of Śaiva worship. He says that Bhīshma's account identifies Śiśupāla with Śiva, and the conflict was between the worshippers of Śiva with those of Vishṇu.[59] The story of the *Rāmāyaṇa* may similarly centre

Śiva possesses all the attributes of the Hamitic religion, and that by one of those religious syncretisms of which traces are so frequent in the ancient systems of worship. See *Rāmāyaṇa*, Gorresio's ed., Intro., p. iv.

54. *Ibid.*, 54.10.
55. *Rāmāyaṇa*, 6.72.62-66.
56. *Op.cit.*, 8.107-13. See also commentary on verse 107.
57. *Yuddhakāṇḍa*, 7.83-89.
58. *Mahābhārata*, 5.184-88.
59. *Indian Antiquities*, I, p. 674 (1st ed.), pp. 82f. (2nd ed.) : Śiśupāla's identification with Śiva by the learned scholar. According-

round the fight between the two rival groups, the worshippers of Vishṇu represented by Rāma and those of Śiva represented by Rāvaṇa.

In the Epics and the *Purāṇas*, another medium through which Śiva was venerated was the phallus (*liṅga*) and gradually his *liṅga*-form became more popular than his anthropomorphic form. The word *śiśnadeva* is found twice in the *Ṛigveda*.[60] In both the cases, the term is used in the plural and means 'those who have the phallus as their deity.'[61] Here the probable reference is to the phallus worship of the aborigines.[62] The phallus-worshippers were looked down upon by the Vedic Aryans who used to call them *adevāḥ, anāsaḥ, mṛidhravāchaḥ*, etc. Roth thinks that the word is a sarcastic appellation for priapic or lustful demons, and translates it by 'Schwanzgötter.'[63] Sāyana and Durga, the commentator of the *Nirukta*, give similar explanation of the word *Śiśnadeva*.[64]

ing to him, Śiśupāla was born with three eyes and four arms but when Kṛishṇa looked at him and embraced him his two superfluous arms fell off and his frontal eye disappeared. Śiśupāla is probably an earlier name of Śiva, who is called Paśupati or lord of beasts or souls. 'Śiśu' denotes the young of men and beasts, and 'pāla' a protector. Śiśupāla's other name was Sunītha (see *Mahābhārata*, 5.4.184).

60. 7.2.5 ; 10.99.3.

61. Macdonell and Keith, *Vedic Index*, Vol. II, p. 382.

62. Macdonell, *Vedic Mythology*, p. 155 : Chatterji in '*The History and Cutture of the Indian People*' (Vol. I, p. 163) says that the phallic symbol of Śiva, the *liṅga*, appears to be both in its form and name of Austric or Proto-Australoid origin. In support of his view he refers to the mysterious upright conical stones set up on the ground, like the menhirs of the Celtic people of Europe, the Monkhemers and the Kols. These stones resemble very much the digging stick used among them as a primitive plough. Jean Przyluski says that the words *liṅga, lakuṭa* (a special attribute of Lakulīśa), *laguḍa* and *lāṅgula* (*cf.* the Sanskrit word *lāṅgala* for 'plough') are of Austric origin. Chatterji further says that the *liṅga* in the *gaurī-paṭṭa* or *yoni* is derived to some extent from the Austric menhirs, which survived till recently in the Munda *sasandiris* or family burial stones.

63. Keith in *JRAS*, 1911, p. 1002, note 5.

64. *RV*, 1.105.8 ; Muir, *op.cit.*, Vol. IV, p. 408—*musho na śiśna vyādanti mā ādhyaḥ* meaning 'cares worry me, like mice gnawing their tails.'

The discovery of several pre-historic relics of a phallic character from various parts of India, including the chalcolithic sites of Mohenjo-daro and Harappā, shows that the phallic cult with which Śaivism is closely associated was a widespread cult in pre-Vedic India.[65] Marshall is of opinion that the Indus people who at first worshipped Śiva and the *liṅga* and the Mother Goddess could not have abandoned their worship in the Vedic age and returned to it subsequently. He says, "We are at a loss to explain how, having once worshipped Śiva and the *liṅga* and the Mother Goddess, they ceased to do so in the Vedic period, returned to the worship later."[66] But he is doubtful as to whether the ring-stones can be regarded as *yonis*. They have of course a hole in the centre, but, there is no justification for imagining that every hole in a stone is the representation of the *yoni*. Mackay suggests that 'they have been employed to build up columns'.[67] According to the same author, although the representation of the male organ was quite familiar to the Indus people, it is not at all certain that they were *liṅga*-worshippers.[68]

65. Hopkins, *Religions of India*, p. 150—

Śiśna-devāḥ /
Śiśnena divyanti krīḍanti iti śisna-devāḥ /
abrahmacharyāḥ ity arthaḥ tathā cha Yāskaḥ /
Śiśna-devāḥ abrahmacharyāḥ //

Śiśnadevāḥ are those who sport with the *Śiśna* (membrum virile) *i.e.* unchaste men. Yāska says that *Śiśnadevāḥ* means unclean people. According to Roth (*Illustrations of Nirukta*, p. 47) *Śiśnadevāḥ* denotes those people who satisfy their carnal desires with low women—*Śiśnena nityam eva prakīrṇābhīḥ strībhīḥ krīḍantaḥ āsate śrautāni karmāṇy utshrijya* / Those men are called *Śiśnadevāḥ* who are always dallying carnally with prostitutes, forsaking Vedic rites. He also suggests that *Śiśnadevāḥ* are some tailed (or Priapic) demons, from whose intrusion the Aryans sought to protect India (Muir, *op.cit.*, Vol. IV, p. 411).

66. Marshall *Mohenjo-daro and the Indus civilization*, Vol. I, pp. 111-12.

67. Mackay, *The Indus civilization*, p. 78.

68. *Loc.cit.* : Pusalker agrees with Marshall as to the identification

Nevertheless, the phallic stones are not entirely devoid of significance. Though it is not possible to treat them as *liṅgas* in the proper sense, their striking resemblance to the male organ raises a strong presumption that they were fashioned deliberately to serve some definite purpose. It is not improbable that they were employed as objects of religious worship before the cult of the phallus had taken a definite shape. They may, therefore, be regarded for the present as symbols foreshadowing the advent of the full-blown *liṅga* cult. In the *Mahābhārata*, however, the phallus receives divine importance. It is said in the *Anuśāsana parva* that Mahādeva's *liṅga* is the most eminent because it is his *liṅga* which is continually worshipped by Brahmā, Vishṇu, Indra and the other gods.[69] The argument for Mahādeva's greatness in this form is based on the fact that, as children bear neither the mark of the lotus (symbol of Brahmā), nor of the discus (symbol of Vishṇu), nor of the thunderbolt (symbol of Indra), but one marked with the male and female organs, they originate from Mahādeva and the Devī, his consort. The women, produced from the nature of the Devī, are marked with the female organ, and the males are manifestly marked with the *liṅga* of Śiva.[70]

of the conical stones of the Indus Valley with the *liṅga* and of the ring stones with the *yoni*. But, agreeing with Mackay who takes ring stones as pedestals or bases of pillars, he opines that until the *liṅgas* and ring-stones are found in close association, the question of prevalence of phallic worship cannot be definitely settled. (*Prāchyavāṇī*, I, pp. 29-31).

69. 13.21.64—*na śuśruma yad anyasya liṅgam abhyarchyate suraiḥ*, 'we have not heard that the *liṅga* of any other person is worshipped by the gods'.

70. 13.19, 78 :

puṁliṅgaṁ sarvam Iśānaṁ strīliṅgaṁ viddhichāpy Umāṁ /
dvābhyāṁ tanubhyāṁ vyāptaṁ hi charācharam idaṁ jagat //

'Know everything which is male to be Īśāna, and all that is female to be Umā ; for this whole world, movable and immovable, is pervaded by [these] 'two bodies'. *cf.* also the epithet *mahāsepha* at pp. 191f. of Muir,

The usual belief is that certain tribes of India who were *Śiśna*-worshippers lent phallicism to Brāhmaṇism.[71] But, according to Hopkins, there was hardly any tribe in India that was distinguished by this characteristic in the epic and he doubts very much the aboriginal origin of *liṅga* worship.[72] Śiva was a god invoked for procreative purposes and both he and Kubera are not without priapine elements likely to become symbolised among a people never very shy of sexual matters.[73] In this connection, it is interesting to note that, in the wedding ceremony, when the bridegroom leads the bride to take the seven steps (*saptapadī*), the fact that Vaiśravaṇa (Kubera) and Īśāna (Śiva) are worshipped perhaps indicates the phallic nature of these cognate spirits.[74]

Śiva is identified with Nandīśvara, Nandī and Nandana and is four-faced. *Mahāliṅga*, *Chāruliṅga* and *Liṅgādhyaksha* and the epithets *Ūrdhvaretāḥ* and *Ūrdhvaliṅga* are ascribed to him.[75] The words are multiplied by Śiva's divine *liṅga*; it is worshipped by the gods, seers, Gandharvas and Apsarases; and Mahādeva rejoices when his heavenly *liṅga* is revered.[76] Another late passage says that he creates in the *liṅga* form.[77] Śiva is *sthāṇu*, because he has *sthita-liṅga* or *sthira-liṅga*.[78] He

op.cit., Vol. IV, which points to the idea that Śiva is worshipped under the emblem of the *liṅga* as the great generative power.

71. Muir, *op.cit.*, Vol. IV, pp. 392-93.
72. Hopkins, *Epic Mythology*, p. 222.
73. Stevenson in *JRAS*, 1932, p. 330.
74. *Śāṅkhāyana Gṛihya Sūtra*, 1.11.7 ; *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I, p. 233 : The bridegroom murmurs a blessing at every step—one for sap, two for juice, three for prosperity, four for comfort, five for cattle, six for the season and seven for progeny. After each step he says, 'may Vishṇu lead thee' and then in a similar way Kubera and Śiva are invoked.
75. *Mahābhārata*, 13.17, 27, 48.
76. *Ibid.*, 7.20-22.
77. *Ibid.*, 7.201.69f. ; 8.188.
78. *Ibid.*, 7.124 ; 13.162, 211 ; 5.510 :

dahaty ūrdhvaṁ sthito yach cha prāṇāṁ nṛiṇāṁ sthiras cha yat |
sthira-liṅgaścha nityam yo tasmāt sthāṇur iti smṛitaḥ ||

has some others epithets which indicate that he is the lord of procreation. These epithets are *liṅgādhyaksha* (the lord of the *liṅga*), *bījādhyaksha* (the lord of the seed), and *bījakartā* (the maker of seed). In this context, it will not be out of place to refer to the various opinions which have been expressed in regard to the origin of the *liṅga*-cult. Bhandarkar says that *liṅga*-worship did not come into vogue at the time of Patañjali who mentions an image or likeness of Śiva as an object of worship and not of any emblem of that god.[79] The same author opines that this kind of worship was unknown even in the time of Wema Kadphises, for, on the reverse of his coins there is no *liṅga* or phallus but the representation of the god in his anthropomorphic form.[80] According to Creuzer, the *liṅga* form is the most popular after the conception of the triad in the Brāhmaṇical pantheon.[81]

'And since, standing aloft, he consumes the likes of men, he is fixed, his *liṅga* is perpetually fixed, he is called *sthāṇu*. In 5.712 of the *Mahābhārata* this idea is expressed again : *ūrdhvaretāḥ ūrdhvaliṅgaḥ ūrdhvaśāyī nabhaḥsthitaḥ*, 'he whose seed is raised up, whose *liṅga* is raised up, who sleeps aloft, who abides in the sky'.

79. Bhandarkar, R. G., *Vaishṇavism, Śaivism and Minor Religious Systems*, pp. 186-206 ; *Mahābhāshya*, 5.3.99. In this connection attention may be drawn to the archaic *liṅga* in the Paraśurāmeśvara temple at Guḍimallam in the North Arcot District, which is of about 1st or 2nd cent. B.C.

80. Bhandarkar, *op.cit.*, p. 191.

81. Creuzer, *Symbolik*, pt. I, p. 575. Stevenson is of the opinion that *liṅga*-worship was originally prevalent amongst the Dravidians alone (*JRAS*, 1932, p. 535). Kittel points and that the cult must have first originated in the Western nations (*Über den urspring des liṅga Kultus in India*, p. 46). Marshall distinguishes three types of cult-stones in the Indus Valley, *viz.*, the bactylic, the phallic, and the *yoni* ring-stones. He concludes, 'whether these three types represent three distinct cults is uncertain ; but it is not unnatural to suppose that the *liṅga* and *yoni* worship may have been associated then, as they were later under the aegis of Śaivism (*Mohenjo-daro and the Indus Civilization*, Vol. I, pp. 59ff).

In origin, the *liṅga* is perhaps no more than a symbol of Śiva, just as the *Śālagrāma* is that of Vishṇu.[82] There are many sculptural representations which also refer to this form of the god. In this context it is interesting to note the Yāgeśvara figure, a unique representation of the god's *liṅga* form, in as much as it is a crystal phallus.[83] Yāgeśvara is described in the *Naishadha-charita* as a water-deity lying invisible in the waters.[84] This is interesting as it speaks of Śiva's association with the waters. But, Yāgeśvara is not the only form to be associated with the waters. In Maṅkha's *Śrīkaṇṭhacharita* (3.14), there is a reference to the wooden Kapāṭeśvara Śiva, who is described as 'sleeping' in the midst of waters.[85] This *Purāṇa* further describes the installation of a *Śivaliṅga* in the waters with Vishṇu in the form of a boar under the phallus, and the figure of Brahmā with folded hands on one side.[86] The crystal phallus of Śiva is

82. *Cultural Heritage of India* (Ramakrishna Institute of Culture), Vol. II, pp. 67-68 : The *bāṇa-liṅgas*, described in the *Siddhānta Sārāvalī* of Trilochana Śivāchārya, are liked by Mahādeva. These *liṅgas* may be in sizes ranging from an eighth of an *aṅgula* to one *hasta*. They may have the colour of a ripe *jambu* fruit, of honey, of a black beetle, or of the touch-stone, or may be blue, deep-red and green. The *pīṭha* should also be of the same colour as the *bāṇa-liṅga*. They have to be either like the teat of a cow or an egg in shape, and must be highly polished. The *bāṇa-liṅgas* are said to be found at Amareśvara on the Mahendra mountain, in Nepal, and at Kanyātīrtha and the *āśrama* near the same place. It is said that each of these places contains a crore of *bāṇa-liṅgas*.

83. The existence in Pañchakhaṇḍa (in Sylhet) of a *liṅga* called Hāṭakeśvara, which is said to have been the tutelary deity of the Nāgara Brāhmaṇas refers to a peculiar *liṅga*-cult in the region. Majumdar, *History of Bengal*, Vol. I, p. 589.

84. Handiqui, K. K., *Naishadhachrita of Śrīharsha*, p. 620 : *jalaṁ chāviśya dṛiśyetarī, yasyāsau jala devatā sphaṭikabhūjorgati yāgeśvaraḥ*.

85. Cf. the *Anantaśāyī* figure of Vishṇu. See also Rājanaka Jayaratha's *Haracharita-chintāmaṇi* (ch. 14) and the *Jñānārṇava Tantra* (20.18) which refer to a *Śivaliṅga* abiding in the waters.

86. 18.6.19, 20 ; end of ch. 76 of Pūrvabhāga : *Śiva-liṅgas* are made

mentioned in the *Daśakumāracharita* (1.2) and (*Navasāhaśānka-charita* (18.51).

The problem of creation engaged the attention of the early mankind. In the Vedas, we see that when the sages attempted to account for the origin of the world, they traced the development of the void (formless) to *tapas* and placed first the birth of *Kāma*, the primal germ of the mind (*manaso retaḥ prathamam*) which was the bond that connected the entity with non-entity. Out of the union of these two—the self-supporting principle lying stretched beneath and energy above—sprang the gods and the whole creation.[87] The imagery employed in the above Ṛigvedic hymn is taken from actual life. Similarly, the birth of the gods is traced to the union of Father Dyaus with Mother Pṛithvī,[88] of the Maruts to the intercourse of Rudra with Pṛiśni, and of Agni to the two *araṇis*, the upper male and the lower female.[89] In all these cases, the union of the male and female is meant and some of the gods like Agni, noted for their extra-ordinary virility are styled *Sahasramukha*.[90] In the later *Saṁhitās* and *Brāhmaṇas*, this idea is further emphasized. The stories connected with the incestuous intercourse of Prajāpati with Ushā shows clearly how popular the theme was with the Vedic bards. Gradually, the idea of procreation not only affected the Aryan thought but tended to degenerate into obscenity in some of their important religious rites. Sexual intercourse was actually

of gold, silver, diverse gems, copper, wood and the like, and according to this *purāṇa* a crystal phallus is to be worshipped in the month of Phālguna.

87. *RV*, 10.129.3-6.

88. Cf. *Hevajra tantra* which refers to the Glorious Father and Glorious Mother in communion (Yab-Yum figures).

89. *RV*, 3.29.2-3.

90. *RV*, 8.19.32. cf. Śiva's epithet of *Jyotirliṅga*. The *Yoginī Tantra* states that the number of *liṅgas* in Kāmarūpa exceeds a million. *Koṭiliṅga-samākīrṇā kāmākhyā kalpavallarī*, Bk I, Chap. XI, V. 39.

carried out in some of the sacrifices. The principal wife of the king performing *Aśvamedha* lying down by the side of the horse, and, in the *Mahāvrata*, the words and actions of a student and a hetæra are instances in point.[91] A number of texts can be cited to prove that the sacrificial cult was suffused with sex symbolism, which ultimately took the material shape of the *liṅga*.[92]

The *liṅga* is frequently combined with the *yoni*, symbol of female creative energy, and the two together convey the male and female principles of the world. Although Śiva and his consort – the creators of the world, the divine parents—are the principles of division into opposites, yet they always remain in communion.[93] In its earliest form, the *liṅga* is a simple, quite literal stone carving of the phallus. As the phallic symbol in Śaiva shrines, it tends to maintain a simple austere quality, reflecting its elemental nature, often in marked contrast to elaborate surroundings. It is approached through four petals and radiates its energy to the four quarters into which the universe is divided. In carvings, the *liṅga* may be represented with an aperture on one side, sometimes on all the four sides, from which Śiva, or the goddess, may emerge. It is sometimes crowned with flames; the concept of the fiery *liṅga* (*jyotirliṅga*) which penetrates the *yoni* corresponds to the ray of light or fire from the sun which impregnates the earth goddess. When combined with female symbol, the *liṅga* is depicted rising out of the *yoni* as a base. In anthropomorphic representations of Śiva and the goddess, Śiva may be shown holding out the *liṅga* to the goddess, and the lotus, symbolizing the goddess and

91. *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*. 3.4.34 ; 1.4.39 ; 6.6.2 ; 8.9 ; 7.5.238.

92. *Taittirīya Saṁhitā*, 2.2.10.

93. *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I, p. 198 : The form of **Śiva** (*Śiva-liṅga*), found in all Śaiva shrines throughout India, is only a plastic representation of the ultimate truth. cf. Heras, *Mystic Teachings of Haridāsas of Karṇāṭaka*, Intro., p. xiii.

the female organ, may support, encircle, or flower from the *liṅga*.[94]

Somadeva's *Yaśastilaka* is an important work in so far as it contains valuable data on the historic conflict between Śaivism and Jainism in the South.[95] Although Somadeva has not presented Śiva in any particular aspect, discussed by us, he has given a general view of Śaivism and its allied cults prevalent in that region. During this period Śaivism was popular practically throughout the country. In this connection, it is interesting to note the geographical distribution of the Śaiva temples, which shows the Śaivite influence from the 10th to the 12th centuries A.D.[96] The work opens

94. Funk and Wagnall (ed.), *Dictionary of Folklore, Mythology and Legend*, pp. 624-25 : The distinctive mark of Vīraśaivism is the *ishṭaliṅga* form of worship, *i.e.*, it advocates the wearing of a *liṅga* upon the body by each person, so that the body shall be a temple fit for Śiva to dwell in. The *liṅga* thus becomes symbolic of the presence of the god in the body, purifying every cell in it. Cf. also Barth, *The Religion of India*, pp. 209, 261. For sculptural representation of Śiva holding out the *liṅga* to Pārvatī, see *op.cit.*, pl. XXII.

95. It was composed in Śaka 981 (959 A.D.) somewhere in the area corresponding to modern Dharwar and the westernmost districts of the former Hyderabad State (*JRAS*, 1889, pp. 281-83). It is a Jaina religious romance written in Sanskrit prose and verse. But the work is more important as an encyclopaedic record of literary, socio-political, religious and philosophical data, valuable for the study of cultural history of India, and particularly of the Deccan, in the 10th century and thereabouts, when the Rāshṭrakūṭa empire held the sway in that part of the country.

96. Handiqui, K. K., *Yaśastilaka and Indian Culture*, pp. 308-09. The following were the important Śaiva shrines : 1) Somanātha at Somanāthapaṭṭana in Kaṭhiāwād, 2) Achaleśvara on Mt. Ābu, 3) Ekaliṅgajī near Udaipur, 4) Nīlakaṇṭheśvara at Udaipur near Bhilsā, 5) Oṁkāreśvara in the Nimar District of Madhya Pradesh, 6) Viśvanātha etc. at Khajurāho, 7) Mahākāla at Ujjain, 8) Vīrāṭeśvara at Sohāgpur, 9) Paraśurāmeśvara etc. at Bhuvaneśvara in Orissa, 10) Saṁgameśvara at Bādāmi, 11) Īśvara at Ellore, 12) Tārakeśvara at Haṅgal (Dharwar Dist.), 13) Madhukeśvara at Banāvāsī and 14) Rājasiṁheśvara at Conjeeverum.

with the Maradatta episode which shows the Tāntric cult in the darkest colours, and there is hardly any parallel to Somadeva's graphic description of the temple of Chaṇḍamarī (Chaṇḍikā) and its horrid atmosphere in the whole range of Sanskrit literature. Śaiva doctrines have been prominently dealt with in the episodes of Chaṇḍakarman in this work (Bk. V, pp. 251, 254 ff.), and the discussion is of particular interest in view of the struggle of Jainism against the rising tide of Śaivism in certain parts of India in the age of Somadeva and thereafter. Haraprabodha, one of the companions of Chaṇḍakarman, is a Śaiva and declares that Śiva has two ways of doing good to the world—the *dakshiṇamārga* and the *vāmamārga*.[97] In this work we find also reference to Śiva's incarnation as Lakulin at Kāyārohaṇa (Kāyāvarohaṇa).[98] The *Vāyu* and *Liṅga Purāṇas* which give more detailed account, mention Kāyārohaṇa (Kāyāvarohaṇa) or Kāyāvatāra or Kārohaṇa in the Lāṭa country (*History and Culture of the Indian People*, Vol. III, p. 454) as the place where Lakulin manifested himself (see also Bhandarkar's view in *loc.cit.*, fn. and reference to Mathurā Pillar Inscription in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXI, pp. 5-7) along with such famous sites as the Kālāñjara mountain and the Prabhāsa *tīrtha* where certain other *avatāras* of Śiva are said to have revealed. Kāyārohaṇa is glorified also in the *Kārāvanamāhātmya*, a work of unknown date which declares it to be a *tīrtha* (*JRAS*, 1926, p. 108) as sacred as Vārāṇasī and Prayāga. It tells us that Lakulin here merged himself in the Brahmeśvara-*liṅga*. The characteristic emblems of Lakulin or Laku-

97. *Op.cit.*, p. 257.
bhagavato hi bhargasya sakalajagadanugraho sargo dakshiṇo vāmāścha.

98. *Op.cit.*, p. 342. The various incarnations of Śiva are mentioned in the *Vāyupurāṇa* (Ch. 23), *Liṅgapurāṇa* (Ch. 24), *Śivapurāṇa* (Ch. 10) and *Kūrmapurāṇa* (last chapter of the first part). The *avatāras* begin with Śveta and end with Lakulin. They are called *Yogāchāryas* in the *Śivapurāṇa*.

līśa, a staff in the left hand and citron in the right, are mentioned in this work. Kārāvan seems to have suffered a great desecration at the hands of the Musalmāns. All round the village, chiefly under pipal trees, images and pieces of sculpture and large *lingas* lie scattered. To the north and east of the village on the banks of a large pond called Kāśikuṇḍa are numerous sculptures and *lingas* (*Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I, pt. 1, p. 83).

An interesting link between Kārāvan and the ancient founder of the Pāśupata system is provided by two *lingas* with the figure of Lakulin sculptured in front : one of them is in the temple of Nakuleśvara, and the other in that of Rājrājeśvara, both at Kārāvan (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXI, p. 81 —Mathurā Pillar inscription of Chandragupta II).

An inscription (1169 A.D.) of the reign of Kumārapāla of Gujarāṭ throws interesting light on the career of a distinguished Pāśupata teacher named Bhāna-Bṛihaspati *alias* Gaṇḍa. He practised austerities in Mālava and Kanauj and efficiently managed *maṭhas* (*A Collection of Prākṛit and Sanskrit inscriptions* published by the Bhavanagar Archæological Department, p. 186).

A Pāsupata *maṭha*, much earlier than the 13th century, existed on the Mt. Abu in Rājasthān. An inscription [Samvat 1342 (1285 A.D.)], which records the geneology of this Sisodiā kings of Chitor, tells us that the *maṭha* on the hill-top was repaired by Rājā Samarasiṁha who also equipped the *maṭha* with a golden flag-stuff at the request of a Śaiva ascetic named Bhāna-Śaṁkara. The establishment was considered very old at the time of the inscription which calls it *anādi* (*ibid.*, p 84).[98a]

98a. The Amoda plates of the Haihaya king Pṛithvīsena I (*Ep Ind.*, Vol. XIX, p. 77) refers to a temple of Vaṅkeśvara, situated in Tumāṇa (for details see *On a Visit to Tumāṇa* by Rai Bahadur Hiralal in *Ind. Ant*, 1924). We do not find any god of this name in the recognised Hindu pantheon. Apparently he was an aboriginal local deity, believed to exercise

In the *Naishadhacharita*[99] of Śrīharsha Śiva is mentioned several times, but the references are to his association with the Soma and the Kāpālika cults. The term *Somasiddhānta*[100] which means literally 'the doctrine of Soma' has been dealt with in this work. That Śiva is connected with the Soma or the moon can be seen from his epithets like Someśvara, Chandraśekara, etc. In one of the Purāṇas the term 'Soma' is frequently used in the sense of Śiva.[101] The same term is included in the names of Śiva in *Sūtasaṁhitā*.[102] In the *Vishṇudharmottara-purāṇa*, the worship of Śiva is associated with *Somāshṭamī*.[103] From all this it will not be incorrect to say that the Soma cult is a degenerated form of Śaivism. In one verse of the play '*Naishdhacharita*' the Kāpālikas think that salvation is attributed to Śiva. In the *Kūrma-purāṇa* Śiva declares that he propounded the holy Pāśupata vow as well as certain degenerate systems such as Soma, Vāma, Pāśupata (in its impure form), Bhairava and Lāṅgala (*laṅgula*,

the greatest influence on the Kalachuris (see also *Corp. Ind.*, Vol. IV, chapter on Religion of the Kalachuri of South Kośala, pp. cxlv-clxiv), who adopted him as their tutelary god, unless it is another name for Śiva, of whom the Kalachuris were great worshippers. The Kalachuris, who styled themselves as Parama-Maheśvara, belonged to a sect known as *Paśupata-pantha*. Vaṅkeśvara means 'The lord of vagabonds' a title equally applicable to an aboriginal god or to Śiva, as the latter is always accompanied by an army of vagabonds. In this connection it is interesting to note that Skanda-Kārttikeya, the son of Śiva, is associated in many places with thieves and bandits (see D. C. Sircars article in *Calcutta Police Journal*, Vol. I, pp. 6-18, *Mṛichchhkaṭika*, 3rd Act; G. W. Cox, *Aryan Mythology*, pp. 61ff., 466).

99. *Naishadhacharita* (ed. Narayanram Acharya, with Mallinātha's Commentary (Bombay), 1952, pp. 41-45, 75-78, 82-89.

100. *Prabodhachandrodaya* (Bombay ed, 1924) describes the *Somasiddhānta* as *parameśvarasiddhānta, i.e. Śaivasiddhānta*.

101. *Kūrma-purāṇa* (uparibhāga), 31.44-8 :

Somaḥ sa dṛiśyate devaḥ somo yasya vibhūshaṇam, somaṁ somārdhabhūshaṇam /

102. Ch. 33 of *Yajñavaibhavakhaṇḍa*, Vol. II, p. 620 (Ānandāśrama ed.).

103. 13.11.

lāguḍa).[104] Yāmunāchārya in his Āgamaprāmāṇya quotes a verse which enumerates four Śaiva systems, *viz*., Śaiva, Pāśupata, Lāguḍa and Soumya, the latter obviously refers to the Somasiddhānta. The same work quotes other verses which enumerate four Śaiva sects as Śaiva, Pāśupata, Kālamukha and Kāpāla.[105] The evidence of Yāmunāchārya's work is interesting because it clearly shows that the Kāpālikas followed the *Somasiddhānta* or the Soma system.[106]

The allusion to tārāmṛiga (starry deer) in Śrīharsha's Naishadhacharita is of special interest.[107] The starry deer explains the lunar mansion known as *mṛigaśīrsha* consisting of three stars. The author speaks of the starry deer as being chased by Śiva with his arrows. This reminds us of Śiva as a hunter. In explaining the allusion we may refer to two Paurāṇic legends. It is stated in the *Vāmana-purāṇa* that the sacrifice (*yajña*), when broken up by Śiva, fled to the sky in the guise of a deer, and remained there with his limbs studded with stars.[108] There is a different story in the *Skanda-purāṇa* (Setumāhātmya section), according to which Brahmā attempted to commit incest with his daughter Vāk, and when the latter ran away in the form of a hind, Brahmā pursued her in the form of a deer. Śiva saw this and shot the deer-shaped god with his arrows. A light emanating from the wounded body of the deer went up to the sky and became the *mṛigaśīrsha* constellation.[109]

104. *Kūrma-purāṇa*, 37.146-49 :

anyāni chaiva śāstrāṇi lokesmin mohanāni cha /
vedavad cha viruddhāni māmaiva kathitāni tu //
vāmaṁ pāśupataṁ somaṁ lāṅgalschaiva bhairavam /
asevyametat kathitaṁ vedabhyaṁ tathetarāt //

105. *Ibid.*, 37, 46.

106. *Skanda-purāṇa* (*probhāsa-khaṇḍa*), ch. 83.

107. Srīharsha, *op.cit.*, 22.80-8.

108. 5.32-38.

109. 40.6-13. See also *Harshacharita*, ch. 3, and *Haravijaya*, 30.92, 31.43.

In twenty-five ślokas of the Kavitāvalī written in different *chhandas*, mainly chhappay (six-lined) and chaupay (four-lined), Tulasīdāsa describes the magnanimity of Śiva.[110] In each of these Ślokas a portion is devoted to the god's appearance with innumerable epithets, which are commonly found in the Epics, the Purāṇas and other Śaiva works. Tulasīdāsa was a devotee of Śrī Rāmachandra, an incarnation of Vishṇu and as such he had to often face the opposition of the Śaivite bhaktas. The poet cleverly escaped the challenge of the Śiva-worshippers. Once the Śaivites, out of jealousy, compelled Tulasī to leave Kāśī. Thereupon, the poet wrote a few verses[111] on the door of Viśvanātha's temple and went away. It is said, that on the following day the Śaivite devotees found the temple-door closed and heard a voice from within the temple. The voice said that by dishonouring a devotee they had dishonoured the god himself. Hearing this, the Śaivites were ashamed of their behaviour and called back the poet. In another verse, the poet expresses his wonder as to why such undesirable things should happen in a place where Śiva is the master and Pārvatī the mistress.[112] In some verses of the

110. Tulasīdāsa, *Kavitāvalī*, com. Lālā Bhagavāndīn and Viśvanāt a Prasād Miśra, Sls. 149-174.

111. *Kavitāvalī* (Uttarakhaṇḍa), vv. 181-84, p. 213 :

devasari sevauṅ bāmadeva gāuṅ rāvase hī,
nāma Rāma hī ke māgi udara bharata hauṅ /
dibe jog 'Tulasī' na leta kāhun ko kachhuka,
likhi na bhalāī bhāl, poch na karata hauṅ //
ete par hu jo, kaun rāvaro hvai jor karai,
tāko jor, deva dīn dvāre gudurata hauṅ /
paikai urāhano, urāhanā na dijai mohiṅ,
kāla-kalā kāsīnātha kahe nibārata hauṅ //

112. *Op.cit.*, v. 170 :

ṭhākur Mahesa, ṭhākurāṇi Umā si jahāṅ,
loka veda hun vidit mahimā ṭhākur kī /
* * *
bisī biśvanātha kī bishad baḍho Bārāṇasī,
būjhiye na aisi Saṅkara-sahar kī /

same work Tulasīdāsa sings in the praise of Śiva with a description which is very much similar to that of Śaiva works.[113]

His *Vinaya-patrikā* is a collection of his supplications to deities other than Śiva. During the 16th Century A.D., the religious history of the country speaks of the predominance of two cults, *viz.* Vaishṇavism and Śaivism. At this age of religious turmoil, Tulasīdāsa realised that Vishṇu and Śiva are only two forms of the same god and preached a way of compromise. Later on, however, many others following Tulasīdāsa propagated a compromising cult which was evident from the synthetic images like those of Hari-Hara, Andhanārīśvara, Chaturmukhaliṅga, Hari-Hari-Hari-Vāhana etc. In his *Gītāvalī*, the poet says that king Jananka became

113. *Op.cit.*, vv. 149, 160.

bhasma aṅga, madana aṅga, santata asaṅga Hara |
sīsa Gaṅga, Girijā adhaṅga, bhūshaṇa bhujaṅga vara ||
muṇḍamāla bidhubāla bhāla, ḍamaru kapāla kara |
bibudha-bṛinda-navakumuda-chanda, sukhakanda śūladhara ||
tripurāri trilochana digvasana vishabhojana bhavabhaya-haraṇa |
kaha 'Tulasīdāsa' sevata sulabha siva siva siva Saṅkara-sadana ||
deta sampada sameta śrīniketa jāchakani,
bhavana bibhuti, bhāṅg, vṛishabha bāhanu hai |
nāma Vāmadeva, dahino sadā, asaṅga raṅga,
ardha aṅga aṅgana, anaṅga ko mohanu hai ||
'Tulasī' Mahesa ko prabhāva bhāva hī sugama,
nigama agama hun ko jānivo gahanu hai |
vesh tau bhikhāri ko, bhayaṅka rūpa Saṅkara,
dayālu dīnabandhu dāni darida-dahanu-hai ||

Śiva has ashes (on his body), he smokes hemp and rides an a bull. He fulfils the desire of one who prays to him. He is called Vāmadeva but always stays an the right. He stays alone and although he has the form of a woman (Pārvatī) in one part of his body, he burns the god of love to ashes. Tulasīdāsa says that only by means of devotion one can know the god's greatness; it is difficult to know him through the *Śāstras* and the *Vedas*. He sacrifices everything and dresses like a beggar, but his form is fierce; he is benevolent and kind, a friend of the destitute, a remover of poverty.

great because he was fovoured by Śiva. Śrīrāma, according to the poet, is himself a great favourite of Śaṅkara and Sītā is great because she is liked by Pārvatī.[114]

Śiva's greatness is also presented in the 13th century poet Chand Bardaī's Pṛithvīrāj Rāso.[115] The god is described in this work in the same way in which we find him in many other works. He is self-born and has braided hair, a garland of skulls hangs round his neck, his body is smeared with ashes, he wears a tiger-skin and rides on a bull, Kailāsa is his dwelling place and Umā resides on his left side.[116] Nāmadeva is another poet of the 16th century, composing in about 1480 V.S., who, like Tulasīdāsa was a great compromiser and saw no difference between Śiva and Vishṇu. He says that when the crops on the field are being eaten up by the cows grazing nearby Śiva comes mounting on a bull and Rāmachandra assists him to drive away the cows from the field.[117] Here both Śiva and Rāma are the protectors of the field and, like

114. *Gītāvalī* (Gītā Press, Gorakhpur), Sl. 80, p. 130 :
anukul nṛipati śūlapāṇi hain̄ /
nīlakanṭha kāruṇya sindhu Hara dīnabandhu dinadāni hain̄ //
jo pahle hī pināka Janaka kahaun gaye saunpi jiyajāni hain̄ /
bahuti trilochana lochana ke phal sabhi sulabha kiye āni hain̄ //
suniyata bhava-bhāvatī Rāma hain̄, Siya bhāvatī Bhavāni hain̄ /
parakhata prīti-pratīti, payaja-panu rahe kāja thaṇḍa ṭhani hain̄ //

115. For a detailed study of the subject, see Miśrabandhu Vinod, *Hindī Sāhitya kā itihāsa tathā kavi kīrtana.* (pt. II), pp. 120-31.

116. *Ibid.*, p. 131 :
namo ādināthaṁ svayambhu-sanāthaṁ,
nahin mātā tātaṁ na ko mangi bātam /
jaṭā juṭayaṁ sesharaṁ chandra bhālaṁ,
uraṁ hāra uddārathaṁ muṇḍa-mālaṁ etc.

117. *Op.cit.*, p. 183 :
pāṅḍe gāyatrī ju tumhārī khet lodh kā khāti thī,
laikari ṭheṅgā tāṅgrī tori, laṅgata laṅgata āti thī /
pāṅḍe dhaul Mahādeva terā balada pa āvata dekhā thā,
Rāmachandra jo pāṅḍe tumhāre so bhi āvata dekhā thā /

common peasants, they are prepared to drive away the intruders of the field.

In Kālidāsa's works like the *Kumārasambhava*, *Meghadūta*, *Raghuvaṁśa*, *Mālavikāgnimitra*, etc., we get references to Śiva and his family. From the invocatory verses at the beginning of his works, we can infer that Kālidāsa was a follower of the Advaita school of philosophy and was a devout worshipper of Śiva. In his master-priece Śakuntalā the poet invokes,[118] the blessing of Śiva whose form he has described as the sum of eight elementary manifestations.[119] (*cf.* the eight forms of Rudra mentioned by the Rudrayāmala). In the *Kalika-purāṇa*,[120] however, these eight mūrtis are mentioned as eight pādas or feet of Śiva, incarnate in the form of Śarabha, a fabulous animal considered to have eight legs and to have been stronger than a lion.[121]

118. 2.18-22 :

yā sṛishṭiḥ srashṭurādyā vahati vidihutaṁ yā haviryā cha hotrī
ye dve kālaṁ vidhattaḥ śrutivishaya guṇā yā sthitā vyāpya viśvam /
yāmāhuḥ sarvabhūtaprakṛitirīti yayā prāṇinaḥ prāṇavantaḥ
pratyakshabhiḥ prapannastanubhir vatu vastābhirashṭā girīśaḥ //

119. The eight manifestations are as follows according to the *tantra-śāstra*, *Rudrayāmala* (13.21)—*Pṛithvī* (earth) = Sarva ; *jala* (water) = Bhava ; *tejaḥ* (fire) = Rudra ; *vāyu* (air) = Ugra ; *ākāśa* (sky or ether) = Bhīma ; *yajmāna* (sacrificer) = Paśupati ; *chandra* (moon) = Mahādeva and *Sūrya* (sun) = Īśāna.

120. 4.38.

121. *IHQ*, 1937, p. 181. The Śarabha image of Śiva may be taken to be a sectarian example. This image, as a manifestation of Śiva, has less ferocity than we find in the image of Narasiṁha, the man-lion incarnation of Vishṇu. The Śarabha image, which is an incarnation of Śiva, if we may call it, is a curious combination of man, bird and beast (see Gopinatha Rao, *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, Vol. I, pl. E, p. 45 ; for iconographical study see pl. No. IV).

Gopinatha Rao says elsewhere (*op.cit.*, p. 42) that another example of this tendency is seen in the case of what is known as Ekpādamūrti. This is an image of Śiva represented as the chief deity having on either side the figures of Vishṇu and Brahmā projectnig from him. 'This group

Kālidāsa seems to be an upāsaka (devout) worshipper of Ashṭamūrti, as he frequently refers, in his works, to Śiva by that name. In the *Mālavikāgnimitra* the verse opens with an invocation to Śiva.[122] Here the poet identifies Ashṭamūrti with Ardhanārīśvara. It may be interesting to note that we find reference, as early as 2nd Century A.D., to a temple in the Western Ghāṭs where an image of this description was worshipped.[123]

In a similar way, in the opening lines of both the *Raghuvaṁśa* and *Kumārasambhava,* the poet has paid his homage

is meant to symbolize the idea that the supreme deity is Śiva and that from him evolved both Vishṇu and Brahmā. Śiva is also one-eyed, the 'one-eye' is on the *liṅgam* (*cf. ekamukha-liṅgam* figure) and represents the eye of heaven (see *Rivers of Life*, Vol. I, Figs. 105, 157 & 189 and *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, Vol. III, pp. 307-11). See also pl. Nos. II & III.

122. 8.21-25 :

ekaśvarye sthitoapi praṇatabahuphale yaḥ svayaṁ kṛittivāsāḥ
kāntāsammiśradehoapya vishayamanosāṁ yaḥ parastāvyatīnām /
ashṭābhiryasya kṛitsnaṁ jagadapi tanubhirbibhrato nābhimanaḥ
sanmārgālokanātha vyapanayatu sa vastaṁsiṁvṛittimīsaḥ //

123. *JRAS*, 1907, p. 969. J. Kennedy says, Clemens (of Alexandria) tells us that the Indians of his day (*i.e* the Indians of the Western Coast of India in the end of the 2nd cent. A.D.) worshipped Herakles and Pan'. It is not certain which Pan is meant, but probably it was Orphic Pan and the Greek conception of Pan is closely akin to that of Vishṇu. The value of Clemen's statement is brought out by a story given by Bardaisan ...'in the kingdom of Pandanes, that is, in the western ghats, there was a sacred cave of the Indians with a colossal statue of this supreme god. He was represented as half-male and half-female. On his right breast, the sun was engraved, and the moon on the left ; while on the two arms was artificially engraved a host of angels and whatever the world contains, *i.e.* to say, sky and mountains and sea, and a river and ocean, together with plants and animals, in fact everything'.

It is evident that this was the image of Śiva as Ardhanārīśvara and Bardaisan's description shows that by the 2nd century A.D. Śiva had attained the highest rank as an embodiment of pantheistic divinity.

to Śiva.[124] The introductory verse of the Vikramorvaśīya is also in praise of *sthāṇu* or Śiva. The liberal style of the verse is universally appreciated.[125] In this connection it is interesting to note that Kālidāsa has perhaps based his theme for the *Meghadūta* on the *Kāmavilāpa* episode of the *Rāmāyaṇa*.[126] In the *Meghadūta* a yaksha is banished at Rāmagiri for a year by Śiva, his master as he fails to perform his duty. With the advent of the rainy season, he remembers his wife lamenting in their abode at Alakā, and begs a passing cloud to carry his beloved his news and the assurance of his devotion. The subject-matter of the *Kumārasambhava* also centres round Śiva. It deals with the events which bring about the marriage of the highest god Śiva with Umā and the birth of Skanda, the war-god.[127]

124. *avehi māṁ kiṅkaramashṭamūrteḥ /*
kumbhodaraṁ nāma nikumbhamitram //
(*Raghuvaṁśa*, 4.17-20)
tatrāgnimādhāya samitsamiddham /
svameva mūrtyantaramashṭamūrteḥ //
(*Kumārasambhava*, 2.8-10)

125. *vedanteshu yamāhurekapurushaṁ vyāpya*
sthitaṁ rodasī yasminnīśvara itma-
nanyavishayaḥ śabdo yathārthakshraḥ /
antaryaścha mumukshubhirniyamita prāṇād-
bhimṛigyate sa sthāṇuristhabhaktiyoga-
sulabho nissteyasāyāstu vaḥ //
(*Vikramorvaśīya*, 6.29-32)

126. Keith, A. B., *A History of Sanskrit Literature*, p. 74. In the *Rāmāyaṇa* Rāma's deep longing for Sītā, when the latter was carried off by the demon king Rāvaṇa, offers an obvious prototype for the Yaksha's sorrow for his wife from whom he is separated, and the description of the rainy seasan has also some points of similarity. But Kālidāsa has carried out his idea with marked originality and beauty.

127. Keith says (*Mythology of All Races*, Vol. VI, p. 218).. 'the wedlock of Śiva and Umā is no more sport, no episode of light love as that of Zens with Danae. From this union springs a power destined to perform the slaying of the demon Tāraka, who menaces the world with

In Hala's *Gāthāsaptaśatī*, written in Maharashtriyan Prākṛit there is reference to the marriage episodes of Śiva which were perhaps utilised as raw material in Kālidāsa's workshop. Scholars say that its kennel dates from or 1st or 2nd century A.D. and therefore it is plausible that there was the previous existence of a considerable body of lyrical literature in Maharashtriyan Prākṛit.[128] A note of similarity is noticed between the verses of *Gāthāsaptaśatī* and those of Kālidāsa's works. The last stanza of Hala's work is about Pārvatī getting annoyed when Śiva performs his evening *sandhyā*.[129] It way be noted that the magnificient description of the evening, witnessed from the Gandhamādana-*vana* and Pārvatī's reactions to Śiva's performing *sandhyā* has a close parallel in the *Kumārasambhava* (6.34-39). Similarly a more exact parallel is furnished in a comparison between two verses, No. 69 of the *Gāthāsaptaśatī* and No. 60 of the *Meghadūta*, Kālidāsa advises the cloud as to how to face a delicate or even an embarrasing situation when it would see Śiva walking with Pārvatī on a *kṛīḍāśaila*. The poet asks the cloud to lie low on the flank, so that their privacy may not be disturbed.[130]

destruction ; moreover, their nuptials and their love serve as the prototype for human marriage and human love, and sanctify with divine precedent the forces which make the home and carry on the race of men.'

128. *JBORS*, 1937, p. 228.

129. 1.20-22—

Sandhyāgṛihītajalāñjali pratimāṁsakrānta Gaurī mukhakamalam /
alīkameva sphuretoshṭa vigalitamantraṁ Haraṁ nabhata //

130. *pāṇigrahaṇa eva Pārvatyaṁ jñātaṁ sakhibhiḥ saubhāgyam /*
Paśupatinā vāsukikaṅkaṇe apasārite dūram //
(v. 69, *Gāthāsaptaśatī*)
hitvā nīlaṁ bhujaṅgavalayaṁ Śambhunāvakahastam /
kṛiḍāśaile yadi cha vicharet pādachāreṇa Gaurī /
bhaṅgīyaktayā virachita vapuḥ sthambhitāntarjalanghaḥ /
sopānatraṁ kuru māṇitaṭārohāṇāyāgrāyāyī //
(v. 60, *Meghadūta*).

Bhāravi's poem, *Kirātārjunīa*,[131] is also an important work to depict Śiva's martial quality. The subject-matter is derived from one of the episodes of Arjuna's career described in the *Vana-parva* of the *Mahābhārata*.[132] The story goes that under the vow of twelve years' exile the Pāṇḍavas had retired to the Dvaita forest, where the taunt and instigation of Draupadī, supported by the vehement urging of Bhīma, failed to move the scrupulous Yudhisṭhira to break the pledge and wage war. The sage Vyāsa appears, and on his advice, they move to the Kāmyaka forest, and Arjuna sets out, accompanied by Kṛishṇa, to win divine weapons from Śiva to fight the Kauravas. Arjuna's austerities frighten the gods, on whose appeal Śiva descends as a *Kirāta*, disputes with him on the matter of killing a boar, and after a fight, reveals his true form and grants the devotee the desired weapon, *Pāśupata*. This story presents Śiva as a hunter as also a god of the mountain-tribes.[133]

Bṛihatkathā, composed by Guṇāḍhya[134] (1st or 2nd century A.D.) refers to Śiva as a story-teller.[135] The story goes that once upon a time Śiva sat on Mount Kailāsa in the Himā-

131. *Kirātārjunīya*, ed. N. B. Godbole and K. P. Parab, with the commentary of Mallinātha, Bombay, 6th ed., 1907.

132. *Mahābhārata*, Bombay ed., 3.27-41.

133. The subject has been dealt with elsewhere in detail.

134. The apocryphal *Nepāla-māhātmya* of a pseudo-Purāṇic character makes Guṇāḍhya an incarnation of a *gaṇa* of Śiva, who under a curse is born at Pratishṭhāna on the Gadāvarī and a favourite of king Sātavāhana (Das Gupta, S. N., *History of Sanskrit Literature*, p. 93. See also S. Lévi in *JARS*, 1885, p. 412).

135. Van Buitenen, J. A. B., *Tales of Ancient India*, p. 3. It is a romance and written in a language that the fastidious Sanskrit grammarians called "troll's tongue". Guṇāḍhya, according to legend, started on his literary career with no less than seven great romances, all about aerial spirits. The author, it is said, wrote them down in the forest for fear that the spirits would steal their chronicles before they could be used to edify man. Guṇāḍhya wrote all seven hundred thousand couplets in his own blood, because he had no ink.

layas with his wife, the daughter of the mountain. In a sudden burst of affection, the moon-crested god, alert to her praises and flattered, put her on his lap and asked, 'what can I do to please you?' The goddess asked for a story, but it displeased her, and to restore her good temper Śiva promised another tale. Thereupon Pārvatī advised Nandī, Śiva's bull, to allow nobody in, and the god proceeded to tell the seven romances of the aerial spirits.

A Śaiva work,[136] discovered in the district of Goalpara, Assam, bears the title *Haragaurī-samvāda* and consists of six chapters and 899 verses. Chapters 2-5 relate the tales of demon Tāraka's warfare, the burning down of the god of love and the birth of Kārttikeya. Chapter 1 deals with the story of Hiraṇyakaśipu's death and chapter 6 gives an account of *yoga* practices.

Besides the above, we came across a number of Sanskrit mss., now in the collection of R. L. Mitra.[137] Among these mss. scholars may be interested specially with the *Reṇukāmāhātmya* (No. 1752) and the *Dattātreyatantra* (No. 1850), the others throwing no new light on our subject. The *Reṇukāmāhātmya* gives the story of Reṇukā, daughter of Reṇuka, king of Kānyakubja. Śiva was charmed by her beauty and wanted to marry her. The work extends to 64 Chapters, and comprises a great number of anecdotes regarding various places in Central India. In the *Dattātreyatantra* Śiva is found to instruct a sage, Dattātreya by name, in mystic, magic and demoniac rites.[138] The *Ānandalaharī*, another ms. (No. 1820) of this collection is interesting in so far as the object of the hymn is to identify Śiva with all other leading gods and goddesses.[139] The ms. No. 1753, is worthy

136. Kakati, B., *Aspects of Early Assamese Literature*, p. 12. The work was discovered by Shri Ajay Chandra Chakravarti, Dhubri, in 1951.

137. Mitra, R. L., *Notices of Sanskrit Manuscripts*, Vol. V, pp. 207-219.

138. In this connection see also fn. 440 & 441 of this work.

139. *Op.cit.*, p. 318.

of mention because it gives a more detailed information of of the city of Avantī than that found in the Purāṇic account. The title of the ms. is *Āvantī-khaṇḍa*, the authorship of which is attributed to a divine personage. It opens with a request from Umā, who desires her lord to describe, for her information, all those sacred pools and rivers on the earth where funeral cakes should be offered to the manes. In reply to this comprehensive question, Śiva gives her an account of all the sacred places, temples, pools and *liṅgas* in the city of Avantī (mod. Ujjain) and its neighbourhood and recites a number of stories to account for the sanctity of those places.

As stated in some Important Inscriptions

In the inscriptions from different parts of the country we get varied references to Śiva. Generally, these inscriptions are salutations or dedications to the god but sometimes his other aspects are also presented. The Bhārhut Buddhist rail inscription (c. 2nd century B.C.) says that Vasuguta (Vasugupta) was rescued to the shore by Mahādeva from the belly of the sea-monster.[140] Śiva is also mentioned in another Bhārhut inscription. The reference is to the seat of the holy (*bhagavat*) Mahādeva under the Bahuhathika (Bahuhastika).[141]

140. This Mahādeva seems to be the Buddha. *Ep.Ind.*, Vol. X, No. 881, p. 89; Cunningham, *Stūpa of Bhārhut*, No. 66, p. 142, and pls. 34 & 56; Hultzch, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXI, No. 159, p. 239.

141. *Ep.Ind.*, Vol. X, No. 902, p. 89; Cunningham, *op.cit.*, No. 19, and pl. 56; Hultzch, *op.cit.*, No. 160, p. 239. Śiva's names, as found in various inscriptions, are : Bhūtapati, Hara, Īśa, Īśvara, Jayeśvara, Kapāleśvara, Mahādeva, Maheśvara, Mihireśvara, Parameśvara, Paśupati, Pinākin, Pūrārāti, Śambhu, Śarva, Śūlapāṇi, Śurabhogeśvara, Svāmi-Mahābhairava and Trīpurāntaka (see *Corp. Ind.*, Vol. III, p. 338). The worshipper of Śiva rehearses, if possible, all the 1008 names of his god and calls his rosary '*rudrāksha*' (the eyes of Śiva). The rosary is composed of berries of the *eloeocarpus*, each bead recalling the five austerities of

The *Ambaththa-sutta* mentions that the Śākyas were eager to show hospitality to the Brāhmaṇas who came to their settlement from Śrāvastī or other parts of India. The Śākyas were devotees of Śiva and their religion was Śaivism.[142]

When Hiuen-Tsang visited Kapilāvastu he found near the eastern gate of the city the old temple of Īśvara (Śiva) where the infant Siddhārtha was taken by his father, because the belief was that "the Śākya children who here seek the protection always obtain what they ask.[143]

The Deoli plates of the Rāshṭrakūṭa king Krishṇa III are worthy of mention. They are three in number, the date being Śaka Saṁvat 862. Each of these plates is one foot in length and about eight inches in breadth. There is a seal

Rudra which must be practised (*ERE*, Vol. III, p. 10). It is interesting to note that rosaries are noticed among Jains in literature of 2nd or 3rd Century B.C. (Shukla, *Hindi Sāhitya kā Itihāsa*, p. 38).

142. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. V, p. 3. In this connection the Piprāwā gold plaque, now in possession of the Indian Museum, Calcutta, is worthy of mention. Among the several other tiny gold leaves discovered inside the big relic casket at Piprāwā (c. 4th Century B.C., Banerjie, *op.cit*, p. 242) the unique representation of Śiva-Pārvatī embossed on a concave plaque of pure gold, $2\frac{1}{2}''$ high, is one of the most interesting finds of this nature that have recently been made. K. P. Jayasawal ('Pāṭaliputra Śiva-Pārvatī Gold Plaque'in *JIOSA*, Vol. II, 1934, p.1), writes, 'Below the *jaṭā* (knot) of the male figure, there is a crescent-like band. Its left hand touches the bosom of the female figure. It is undoubtedly a figure of Śiva-Pārvatī.

143. *Si-yu-ki*, Vol. II, p. 23 : According to the legend the stone image raised itself and saluted Prince Siddhārtha. Beal thinks that the scene is represented on the Amarāvatī *stūpa* (2nd century B.C.). The legend is, therefore, ancient and undoubtedly points to the conclusion that Śiva was the *Kuladevatā* of the Śākyas. From this, it is presumed that the temple (?) mentioned above is certainly one of the oldest Śaivite monuments of which we have knowledge and possess great interest for the history of Brahmanical religions. This shows evidently that Śiva was a popular god in the northern and southern regions even a few hundred years before Christ. See also *ibid.*, pp. 26-29, and Bühler, *The Asoka Edicts of Paderia and Nigliva*, p. ii.

which bears a figure of Śiva. The seal is of square shape, like that of Kardā plates of Kakka II.[144] It measures 2¾″ both ways and bears, in relief, a seated figure of Śiva, which faces the front and holds a snake in each hand. On Śiva's proper right are from top to bottom, an image of Gaṇapati, a *chaurie*, and a lamp, on his proper left the goddess Pārvatī rides on a lion and below her there is a *svastikā*. Along the margin of the seal passes a border of various indistinct emblems, among which a *liṅga* and an elephant-goad are recognizable.[145] It is said that Dantidurga's uncle Kṛishṇa I decorated the earth with many temples of Śiva, which looked like the Kailāsa mountain.[146]

Sometimes gifts of villages, temples and lamps were made to the god. The Māusalipaṭam plates of Vijayāditya III, dated 884-888 A.D., contain a complete inscription of a Choḷa chief named Śrīkaṇṭha who is said to have given away Mandara to the god Śiva, under the name of Preteśvara.[147] In another inscription Vijayāditya, son of Vishṇurāja, is said to have built a hundred and eight temples of Narendreśvara (Śiva) for forty years.[148] The Chebrolu inscription of Jāya, probably of Śaka 1135, refers to the temple of Ananta-Jina which is located on the site of a Śaiva temple. The inscription opens with invocation, addressed to the boar incarnation of Vishṇu (v.1) ; to the crescent moon on the head af Śiva (v. 2), to Gaṇapati, the Sun etc.[149] Another inscription of

144. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, p. 263.

145. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. V, p. 189.

146. *Ibid.*, Vol. VII, p. 101.

147. *Ibid.*, Vol. VII, p. 123n.

148. See the Bezvāḍa Plates of Chālukya-Bhīma I (888-918 A.D.). *cf.*, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. V, p. 130 ; Fleet in *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XX, p. 100, and the 108 temples of Śiva at Kālnā, Dt. Burdwan, West Bengal.

149. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. V, p. 143 —

Herambasya
vikalpadantamukuṭam Gaurīrahasyo-
tsvapratyā-sannavilāsadīpakalikā

Jāya and of his overlord Gaṇapati says that the general Jāya was put in charge of a temple of Śiva, which was founded by king Kulottaṅga-Rājendra-Goṅka and named Paṇḍīśvara.[150] The Maṅgoli inscription opens with an invocation of Śiva (l. 1), and a verse in praise of the same god under the name of Śambhu.[151] The inscription in the Sthānūtha temple at Suchindram[152] records the gift of a lamp to the Śiva temple at Tiruchchivindram (mod. Suchindram), and is dated in the 34th year of the reign of the Choḷa king Parakeśarivarman. The Konkuduru plates of Allaya-Dadda (Śaka 1352) also opens with an invocation of the crescent moon on the head of Śiva (v. 3).[153] The Śravaṇa Belgoḷa Epitaph of Mārasiṁha II (l. 84) is interesting in as much as it says, '...... glorious was the array of him who was a very *trinetra* (Śiva) among chieftains, at the time when the skull-wearers, having cut off (and arranged) in a string all the newly decapitated heads of the Pallavas, (and) having greatly tottered (under the burden of them),[154] (and) having placed (them) on the ground...'

Gaṅgāmṛiṇālāṅkuraḥ / devasya Tripura-
druho vijayinā pushpeshunā mastake
vinyāstāṁkushavibhramā vijayate
chūḍāsudhāṁśoḥ kalā //

See also *Corpus Indicarum*, Vol. III, p. 288 : Nirmaṇḍ Copper-plate inscription of the Mahāsāmanta and Mahārāja Samudrasena. Nirmaṇḍ is a village, near the right bank of Satlej, 21 miles north-east of Plach, the chief town of the Plach Tahsil or sub-division of the Kullu Division of the Kāṅgrā District in the Punjab. On this inscription Śiva is under the name of Mihireśvara. It is, therefore, possible that the particular case indicates the combination of Solar worship with Śaiva rites.

150. *Op.cit.*, p. 151, No. 250. See also No. 13.

151. *Op.cit.*, p. 15, No. 3 :
Oṁ Oṁ namaḥ Śivāyaḥ //
namas-tuṁgaśiraś-chuṁbi-chaṁdra-chāmara-chārave /
trailokya-nagar-āraṁbha-mūla-staṁbhāya Śaṁbhave.

152. No. 81 of the Govt. Epigraphist's collection for 1896.

153. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. V, p. 55, No. 9.

154. *Ibid.*, pp. 61-63, No. 19.

In the inscriptions of different dates, found at Ablur, we get references to Śiva and Śiva-worshippers. A record, dated 1112 A.D., gives the following description of a Śaiva *maṭha*.[155] This is the Koḍiyamaṭha, the abode of the god Kedāra and a place devoted to the observances of Śaiva saints leading perpetually the life of celebrate religious students. Another inscription dated 1200 A.D. is on a stone tablet standing against the wall, or perhaps built into the wall, on the right of the god inside a temple of Śiva under the name of Somanātha. The sculptures at the top of the stone are, in the centre, a *liṅga*, with a standing priest, on the proper right, the bull Nandī, with the sun above it; and on the proper left, a cow and calf, with the moon above them.[156]

The importance of the record lies in the fact that it discloses the name of the person, Ekāntada Rāmayya, who towards the close of the 12th cent. A.D., brought about a revival of the worship of Śiva which eventually culminated in the establishment of a new sect of Śiva-*bhaktas* or worshippers of Śiva, called technically Vīra-Śaiva, *i.e.*, brave, fierce, or strict Śaivas, Śaiva champions and popularly known as Liṅgāyats or Liṅgawauts, *i.e.*, those who carry the *liṅga* or phallic emblem. The Liṅgāyats are outwardly distinguished from the ordinary Śaivas by the practice of carrying about with them a miniature *liṅga*, usually in a silver-box suspended from the neck and hanging about the waist.[157]

155. *Ibid.*, p. 222—

Dakshiṇa-kedāra-sthānamuṁ Śiva-liṅgapūjā-pulaka-śasya-sarasa-kedāra-sthānamuṁ-naishṭhika-brahmacharyya-Śiva-munijan-ānushṭhāna nishṭhita-sthānamuṁ......

See also Karanbel Stone inscription of Jayasiṁha (first ed. by Dr. Kielhorn in the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 214ff.). In verse 3 of the inscription there is an interesting dialogue between Pārvatī and Śiva, the latter saying that Pārvatī should refer to the skulls on his head as those of men, not of women.

156. *Op.cit.*, Vol. V, p. 229.

157. The detailed reference to the Liṅgāyats is found in *Basavapurāṇa*

In this connection, it is interesting to note the origin of the Liṅgāyats. The tradition of the sect is embodied in two principal sacred writings, the *Basavapurāṇa* and *Channabasavapurāṇa*.[158] It is said that to a certain Mādirāja and his wife Madalambikā, pious Śaivas of the Brāhmaṇa caste and residents of a place named Bāgewādi which is usually supposed to be the subdivisional town of that name in the Bijapur District, there was born a son, being an incarnation of Śiva's bull Nandī, sent to the earth to revive the declining Śaiva rites, was named Basava.[169] When the usual time of investiture had arrived, Basava, then eight years of age, having meanwhile acquired much knowledge of Śaiva scriptures, refused to be invested with the sacred thread, declaring himself a special devotee of Śiva, and stating that he had come to destroy the distinction of caste. His uncle Baladeva, prime-minister of Bijjala, the Kalachuri king, was attracted

(composed in Śrāvaṇa Kṛishṇa 10, Thursday, of the Saumya-Saṁvatsara, Śaka-Samvat 1291—29th July, A.D. 1369, Sunday. *Channabasavapurāṇa* appears to have written in Śaka Samvat 1507—A.D. 1585-86. See *JBBRAS*, Vol. VIII, p. 221). The chief characteristics of their faith and practices are adoration of the *liṅga* and of Śiva's bull Nandī, hostility to Brāhmaṇas, disbelief in the transmigration of the soul, contempt for child-marriage, and approval and practice of the remarriage of widows. They are found chiefly in the Kanarese country; their vernacular is Kanarese; and it is due almost entirely to them that this beautiful, highly polished, and powerful language has been preserved, in later times, amidst the constant inroads of the Mārāṭhās from the North.

Cf. also inscriptions at Ablur c. 1153 A.D., c. 1200 A.D. (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. V, p. 161); for other Liṅgāyats, See the *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*, Vol. XXI, pp. 149-151; for a general account See C. P. Brown's 'Essay on the Creed, Customs, and literature of the Jangamas' in the *Madras Journals of Literature and Science*, Vol. II, pp. 143-177.

158. Abstract of these two works by G. Würth were published in the *JBBRAS*, Vol. VIII, pp. 65-97 and 98-221.

159. *Ibid.*, p. 67—The word *basava* is a corruption of the Sanskrit *Vṛishabha* (a bull), *i.e.*, Nandī, the bull on which Śiva rides. See Wilson's *Descriptive Catalogue of the Mackenzie Collection*, p. 305.

by his nephew's wisdom and piety. He gave Basava his daughter Gaṅgādevī or Gaṅgāmbā in marriage. The Brāhmaṇas began to persecute Basava on account of the novel practices propounded by him. Basava consequently left his native town, and went to a village named Kapaddī, where he spent his early years, receiving instructions there from the god Śiva in the form of Saṁgameśvara.

In Ahichchhatra, Bareilly District, U.P., there are many plaques in the Śiva temple exhibiting different forms and life of the god. The temple was built on the ruins of an apsidal temple of Kushāṇa times and its first construction may be assigned to the Gupta period.[160] Large plaques were fixed in a frieze running round its upper terrace. Some of them are excellent in workmanship, and considering their style it appears that they must have belonged to a period between c. A.D. 450 and 650. In this connection, the construction of the temple is worth noticing. It is a massive brick structure unique of its kind in North India. The plan of the temple bears close resemblance with that of Buddhist *stūpas* raised in several tiers, diminishing upwards like a gigantic staircase.[161] The monument resembling a Śiva-*liṅga* is identified as an *eḍuka* dedicated to Śiva.[162]

As already stated, the plaques are of great interest for their subject-matter appertaining to Śiva's life. His exploits with Daksha Prajāpati, his father-in-law, the holocaust wrought there by his playful *gaṇas*, his assumption of the terrific form of Bhairava, his peripatetic aspect with the

160. *Ancient India,* No. 4, pp. 167-169.

161. Cf. the *stūpa* with three terraces (*trimedhi*) in the *Divyāvadāna* text (pp. 243ff.). The same style has been referred to in the *Vishṇu-dharmottara-purāṇa* (3.74, 1-4) ; See also A. K. Coomaraswamy, 'Indian Architectural Terms' in *Journal of American Oriental Society,* 48 (1928), p. 270 and the Votive *Stūpa* from Swat valley now in collection of the Indian Museum, Calcutta.

162. An earlier reference to numerous *eḍūkas* worshipped all over the country occurs in the *Mahābhārata* (*Vana-parva,* 110.65-67).

begging-bowl in hand, his dalliances with Pārvatī in the renewed marital life, and finally his peaceful form of Dakshiṇamūrti, the lord of *yoga* and divine wisdom.[163]

163. *A.I.*, No. 4, p. 168– Plaque No. 298 (2ft. 2in.X2ft. 1in.X5in.) refers to the Śiva-*gaṇas* and other gods like Vishṇu and Indra. The scene may be identified as the sacrifice of Prajāpati interrupted by Śiva's *gaṇas*. The story corroborates with that given in the *Mahābhārata* (*Śānti-parva*, ch. 164).

Plaque No. 299 (2ft. 2in.X2ft. 3in.X5in.) depicts the Śiva-*gaṇas* engaged in scramble for sweets, helping themselves merrily to the contents of two baskets, containing *matichur laḍḍus* and *guñjhiā*—an important piece of evidence for the history of Indian sweets. See *Divyavadāna*, p. 513.

Plaque No. 301 (2ft. 3in.X1ft. 10in.X4in.) represents a figure of Śiva as a wandering beggar (*Bhikshāṭana-mūrti*). He holds a bowl (*bhikshā-pātra*) in the left hand.

In No. 10163, the distinguishing symbol of *ūrdhva-liṅga* (erect membrum virile) shows him to be Śiva as Lakulīśa. No. 10170 presents another Dakshiṇamūrti of Śiva. Knowledge is called *dakshiṇa*, and Śiva as the highest *yogī* and lord of wisdom, is conceived of in this special aspect, immersed in meditation in a selected spot of the Himalayas (Gopinātha Rao, *op.cit.*, Vol II, pp. 274, 277). The female figure, adoring Śiva with folded hands seems to be Pārvatī herself. No. 10198 presents an interesting description of the god. In this the male figure is seen kissing his partner by drawing the latter's lower lip between his lips (*adharasudhā-pāna*). The scene may be related to Śiva's amours with Pārvatī after their re-union, which forms a subject of elaborate description in the *Kumārasambhava* of Kālidāsa.

A fragmentary Pratihāra inscription (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIX, pp. 173-174) refers to the Kalyāṇa festival (Śiva's marriage with Pārvatī, ref. Kalyāṇasundara-*mūrti* of Śiva). It is usual to celebrate the marriage of the god and his consort every year and this annual festival is called *Kalyāṇotsava*. Kittel in his Kannada-English Dictionary gives the meaning of *Kalyāṇa* a festival (marriage).

CHAPTER II

ASCETIC AND BEGGAR

The conception of Śiva as a beggar is closely associated with his ascetic form. It is plausible that the idea of the god as a beggar, which is found generally in the Purāṇic and medieval, as also the modern, literature of Eastern and Northern India, has perhaps developed out of his yogic leaning. The character of an Indian *yogī* was attached to this god from a very early period.[164] He is the arch ascetic of India, the *mahāyogī*, in whom is centred the highest perfection of austere penance and abstract meditation. By yogic practices he performs marvels and miracles and through *yoga* he acquires the highest spiritual knowledge.[165] This is one of his most popular forms. Throughout the length and breadth of the country, Śiva is represented generally in his phallic emblem (*liṅga*) ; but in the anthropomorphic form, he usually appears as an ascetic clad in tiger- or elephant-skin (*kṛittivāsa*) with matted locks (*jaṭā*), rosary (*rudrāksha*) or trident (*triśūla*) in hand, wearing snake ornaments (*sarpa-bhushaṇa*), having his body smeared with ashes (*bhasma* or *vibhūti*) and practising austerities (*tapas*) in a remote place on the Himalayan range. In the Purāṇic literature, the form which was conceived about him, is very much similar to that of the Buddha in meditation (*Dhyānī* Buddha).[166] The Mohenjo-daro seals depicting the figure

164. The deer-skin seat of the god and his yogic posture (as found in the Indus valley relic) are the two unequivocal features left, and these prove nothing more than the antiquity of *yoga*, a system of physical discipline and mental magic (*Cultural Heritage of India*, Vol. II, p. 67).

165. Dowson, *A Classical Dictionary of Hindu Mythology*, p. 297.

166. Cf. Bihar and Java images of the Buddha (No. A 25147) and Śiva (JA 13) in Indian Museum Collection, see pl. Nos. V & VI).

of a god sitting in *yoga* posture tell us that the origin of the idea of Śiva in meditation (*yogīndra*) possibly belongs to the pre-Aryan religious life and that it was gradually fused with the Purāṇic concept. We, however, get two forms of Śiva. On the one hand, he is wrathful (*ghora*), noisy (*bhairava*) and furious (*rudra*) and, on other, peaceful (*aghora*), beneficient (*śiva*) and calm (*dakshiṇa*). It is in the latter aspect that we find the ascetic spirit in Śiva.

Before describing in detail the ascetic aspect of the god, it will not be out of place to mention here the evolution of asceticism in the country. As it has been seen and will be discussed in detail afterwards, the yogic aspect of asceticism was prevalent in the Indus Valley, the civilization of which area must have flourished much earlier than the period of the Vedas. That is to say, asceticism was current among the pre-Aryan settlers of this country. The ascetic has always been held here in the highest esteem, and ascetic practices have been widely prevalent from the earliest times. A *yogī* or ascetic tries to keep himself aloof from the contaminating touches of the world because he believes that, by disciplining the body and mind in this way, the union of the individual soul (*jīvātmā*) with the Absolute Soul (*paramātmā*) is possible. Thus, the thought that essentially underlies the Indian conception of asceticism, and prompts the adoption of ascetic life, is the desire to escape from the bondage (*bandhana*) of worldly life (*saṁsāra*) and thereby to secure release or salvation (*moksha*). The Ṛigvedic people wished to live a happy and healthy life with a prosperous home; they were afraid of heavenly beings whom they used to please by offering oblations. The idea of asceticism or of the renunciation of the worldly life did not creep in their minds. In the hymns of the *Ṛigveda*, therefore, the word '*tapas*' has little importance. But '*tapas*'[167] is indefinitely associated in the *Upanishads* with the third *āśrama. i.e., Vānaprastha*

167. *Bṛihadāraṇyaka Upanishad*, 8.109-12.

and people, during this period, embrace the life of an anchorite in the forest. The *Atharvaveda*[168] and the *Taittirīya Saṁhitā*[169] speak of the extraordinary power of *tapas*. The classical example, which is the most convincing to Hindu thought is found in the story of rivalry and hostile encounters of Vaśiṣṭha and Viśvāmitra.[170] The idea of asceticism is highly recognised in the *Bhagavadgītā*. According to this work, the essence of ascetic practices is not painful mortification of the body, but the abnegation of selfish desires and the sacrifice of selfish inclination and love of ease in the cause of righteousness and devotion to the Supreme God.[171] In the *Mahābhārata*, descriptions of the hermit and of the ascetic are found, and they agree almost with those of Manu.[172] In the *Rāmāyaṇa*, Rāma renounces the world and lives the life of an ascetic on the bank of the Godāvarī.[173] The idea of an ascetic is best expressed in in the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upanishad* which says that the practical way of realising the Absolute (*parabrahma*) is by renunciation. He, who passes beyond hunger and thirst, beyond sorrow and delusion, beyond old age and death,

168. 2.77.2.

169. 4.13.3.

170. Viśvāmitra, a Kshatriya and a very powerful and wealthy king, was overthrown and put to confusion at every point by the might of the Brāhmaṇas' incantations and magical devices. Humbled and enraged beyond measure, Viśvāmitra had recourse to *tapas*, and by the most severe and protected austerities compelled the gods to grant him the status of a Brāhmaṇa, thus placing him on a level with his adversary, Vaśiṣṭha. The story undoubtedly represents the rivalry of the two great orders or castes, the priestly and the warrior ; but it also points to the conception of the omnipotent strength of *tapas*, which could bridge the gulf, and lift the Kshatriya to the level of the Brāhmaṇa (Müir, *op.cit.*, Vol. VI, pp. 176-79).

171. 6.2 ; 12.3.—'Rennuciation is devotion (*yoga*) and he who is homeless, of a steady mind and full of devotion, is dear to me.'

172. *Ibid.*, 12.199, 243 ; *Baudhāyana Dharmasūtra*, 2.22.

173. *Araṇya Kāṇḍa*, 6.48.

overcomes all sorts of worldly desires and lives the life of a mendicant.[174] Kālidāsa states that, when Raghu grew old and became a mendicant (*yati*), he installed his son on the throne and stayed in a cottage outside the capital. In this context, the poet draws a striking contrast between the old king who turned ascetic and the prince who became king.[175] The *Aśramavāśika-parva* of the great epic states that Śambuka was buried as an ascetic; this indicates that even the Śūdras could follow the ascetic mode of life.[176] In the *Mālavikāgnimitra* Kālidāsa says that the learned Kauśikī wore the garb of an ascetic.[177]

The general trend of Hinduism was against women adopting the homeless or ascetic life. But, later, we find that there is the order of nuns in Buddhism and women playing an important role in the Tāntric cult. Although one of the principal rules for a *yati* was that he should leave his wife and home and never think of sexual enjoyment or revert to the life of a householder, the women-folk could neither be debarred from adopting the ascetic life, nor could they be avoided. The subject-matter of the old Bengali *charyāpadas* is highly mystical, centering round the esoteric doctrines and erotic and yogic theories and practices of the *Sahajiyā* school of Buddhism and it is seen that the part played by women in this school is nonetheless important. Records say that Bengal was, during and after the Gupta period, the home of a body of learned Brāhmaṇas and Buddhist monks (*Bhikshus*) and nuns (*Bhikshunīs*) whose livelihood was made easy and secure by private or royal charity. A notable evidence in this respect is furnished by I-tsing's account of a monastery at Tāmralipti.[178]

174. 3.4.1 ; 4.5.2.
175. *Raghuvaṁśa*, 3.14-18.
176. 15.26.
177. 1.14.
178. *Life of Hiuen Tsang*, tr. Beal, S., intro., pp. xi-xiv.

The yogic attitude of Śiva can be gleaned from one of the faience seals unearthed at Mohenjo-daro by Mackay in 1930.[179] The figure is described as three-faced, seated in the yogic pose with legs bent double beneath him, heel to heel, and face downwards,[180] and he is surrounded by animals. Marshall's observations, in this connection, are very interesting.[181] In the *Mahābhārata* Śiva's mild form represents him

179. Mackay, E., *Further Excavations at Mohenjo-daro*, Vol. II, pl. xciv., p. 420.

180. This peculiar sitting posture is known as *Kūrmāsana.*

181. About this figure Marshall observes, "Śiva is pre-eminently the prince of *yogīs*, whence his name *Mahātapāḥ* and *Mahāyogī*, the typical ascetic and self-mortifier...... Like Śaivism itself, *yoga* had its origin among the pre-Aryan population..... Śiva is not only the prince of *yogīs*, he is also the lord of beasts (*Paśupati*) and it is seemingly in reference to this aspect of his nature that the four animals—the elephant, tiger, rhinoceros and buffalo are grasped about him......" The four animals may represent the four quarters, as on the capital of the Aśoka column (*C.H.I.*, Vol. I, p. 68). In later days, the horns on the head of the Indus god took the form of *triśūla* or trident and in that guise it continued to be a special attribute of Śiva.... We have, then, on this seal a god whose distinguishing attributes proclaim him the prototype, in his most essential aspects of the historic Śiva (*Mohenjo-daro and the Indus Valley Civilization*, Vol. I, pp. 53-56).

If the figure on the seal is taken to be that of Śiva we can readily assume the yogic association of the god from a very early period. In this connection, it may not be out of place to mention the contrary views of a modern scholar, who thinks that the god is neither three-faced nor even human-faced but that the whole form, though apparently human, is a combination of various animals and, in reality it is a masterpiece of camouflage and deception (Sastri, K. N., *New light on the Indus Civilization*, Vol. I, p. 8). Yet, according to another scholar, the three faces of the god may be 'a syncretic form of three deities into one; because the conception of the triad or trinity is a very old one in India and it was equally old in Mesopotamia; it is more likely that the god was provided with a plurality of faces in token of his all-seeing nature' (*Cultural Heritage of India*, Vol II, p. 66).

The view of Mackay with regard to a figure of another seal is also

as a *brahmachārī* or chaste Brāhmaṇical scholar, but his self-mortification is of the horrible type and sets an example for the worst excesses of an Indian *sādhu* or *fakīr*.[182] During the time of meditation, Śiva becomes the most fearful and indignant and it was at such a stage that he burnt Kāmadeva to ashes by a single glance from the eye in the midst of the forehead. Again, it is because of his absolute forgetfulness that the most suitable place which he can find in his wanderings is none other than the burning ghāṭ, (*śmaśāna*); it is perhaps with the cremation ground that he is fond of ashes and bears a skull in his hand. It is for this reason that the god gets one of his epithets as *bholā* (one who forgets everything). Śiva also stands on one foot (*ekapada*) for a thousand years and undergoes penance on the Himavat. In this connection, Keith observes, "all this is done for the good of the world, but it affords a precedent for the most painful renunciation and the most appaling austerities, there are the features which endure Śiva to the Brāhmaṇ as an ideal of the true *yogī*, ascetic".[183]

The description of Śiva practising *dhyāna-yoga* is found in the *Kumārasambhava*.[184] Śiva is represented in human form living in the Himalayas alongwith Pārvatī, sometimes in the act of trampling on or destroying demons, wearing round his neck a serpent, a necklace of skulls and furnished with other external emblems, such as a white bull on which he rides, a trident, tiger's or elephant's skin, rattle, noose, etc.[185] The idea behind Śiva's adopting the life of an ascetic

interesting. According to him, what has been described as a probable *ūrdhvaliṅga* fecture of the figure on Seal No. 420 is absent on Seal No. 222 where the figure appears to be wearing a very short piece of loin-cloth comparable with *laṅgūṭī* frequently worn by *yogis* and *sannyāsīs*, and also by beggars, of this country (*op.cit.*, Vol. II, p. 401).

182. *Mahābhārata*, 8.121.

183. *Mythology of All Races*, Vol. VI, p. 113.

184. 4.38-46.

185. Wilkins, *Indian Wisdom*, pp. 321-25.

is to teach men by his examples the power to be obtained by penance thereby learning the great virtue of abstract meditation by which one can lead oneself to the loftiest spiritual knowledge, the union of the individual soul with the absolute. Monistic belief, however, forms the basis of the *Śaiva-siddhānta* of the South. In Northern India also, the various sects believe in the oneness of the individual soul and the godhead.[186] The practices of some of these sects emphasize the need for torturing the flesh to elevate the soul.[187] The authors of the old Bengali *Charyāpadas* are among the 84 *siddhas* or *miracle*-working saints and teachers who are honoured by the Mahāyāna Buddhists of Nepal and Tibet, and some of them, Lui-pā, Kāṇha-pā and Jālandhar-pā, are still regarded in Northern India as great Śaivite *yogīs*.

In this connection, a legend from the *Vāmana-purāṇa* is worth quoting. In it Śiva's life as an ascetic is revealed. Pārvatī, once oppressed with violent heat, said to her lord, "O Īśa, the heat increases in violence and you have no house

186. Keith, *Mythology of All Races*, Vol. VI, pp. 102-06.

187. Thomas, *Hindu Religion, Customs and Manners*, pp. 29-30, 384-85 : The *Bahikathas* tear their bodies with knives and daggers. The *Kānphaṭas* slit the ears of their novices at the initiation ceremony. The *Aghoras* feed on carrion and excreta, and the *Kāpālikas* use a human skull for a drinking bowl, the *Ākāśamukhas* go about looking at the sky without turning their faces, and the *Ūrdhvabāhus* keep their hands always lifted up. The *Avadhūtas* who are all *sannyāsīs*, draw their inspiration from the teachings of the *Siddhas*. Advayavajra was known as *Avadhūtī-pāda* (H. P. Sastri, *Advayavajra Saṁgraha*, p. 11). The very name of the Sect indicates that it follows the Buddhist method of *yoga* in which an exact knowledge of the *nāḍī* called *Avadhūtī* is essential. There is another sect known as *Daṇḍī* who is very much akin to a *Śaiva-yogī*. Membership of this sect is open to all irrespective of caste and creed. They usually wear a necklace of *rudrāksha*, and some, in place of the ordinary salmon-coloured robes, a familiar dress worn by the *yogīs* or *sādhus*, carry the skin of a tiger. They avoid meat and do not drink spirits, but are great smokers of *gāñjā* or hemp. In this connection, it is interesting to note that the Śaivite rosaries are composed of 32 or 64 *rudrāksha* berries (*Eleocoupus ganitrus*). The *Daṇḍīs* sometimes wear strings of human teeth (*dantamālā*).

in which we may stay for protection against wind and heat." In reply, Śiva said that 'he is without a shelter and is a constant wanderer in forests'. Having thus spoken, Śiva remained with Pārvatī during the hot season under the shade of trees. After summer, the rainy season approached. On seeing the clouds, Pārvatī entreated Śiva to build a house on the Kailāsa. Thereon Śiva replied, "O my beloved, I have no money for the construction of a house, nor do I possess anything but a tiger's (or elephant's) skin for garments, and serpents for my ornaments." Pārvatī became unnerved and asked her husband if they would have to pass the rainy season under the shade of trees. Śiva replied in the affirmative and consoled her by saying that they would cover their bodies with the sheets of clouds, and no rain would fall on her tender body. Śiva thus fixed his abode in the clouds with the daughter of Daksha and hence became celebrated in heaven under the name of Jīmutaketu (one whose banner is the cloud).[188] When the rains were over, Śiva and Pārvatī took up their abode on Mount Mandara.[189]

As has been pointed out above, there are innumerable references to the yogic or ascetic aspect of Śiva in the early Indian religious literature, *e.g.*, in the Vedas, the Brāhmaṇas, the Upanishads, the Epics and the Purāṇas.[190] Now, we shall

188. Rudra's association with the clouds and winds in the Vedas is noteworthy in this connection.

189. *Vāmana-purāṇa*, 8.48-61 : for the English translation see Wilson, *Hindu Mythology*, pp. 278-88.

190. In the *Mahābhārata* the ascetic character of the god can be seen in several places. In the *Anuśāsana-parva* (4, 38) he is said to be *jaṭilo brahmachārī cha lokānāṁ hita kāmya, i.e.* the god goes with matted hair and practices austerity for the benefit of mankind. In the *Droṇa-parva* (121, 139) he is called *muṇḍā* (shaved) ; the shaved head is a characteristic of an ascetic. In the same book (7.320) he is called *tapasām yoniḥ*, the womb of penance. In the *Śānti-parva* (224-28), Mahādeva is said to have undertaken penance on the Himavat. He is also *valkalā-jīnavāsa* (7.124), clothed in bark and skin. It is said that he stood on one foot for a

see how far this yogic attitude of the god can be gleaned from medieval Indian literature. In this context, one important point to note is that the stories in the medieval works in this respect are sometimes taken or adapted from the early literature. We shall take up for discussion in this connection specially the Bengali and Hindi literature. In Bengal, we have works like the *Śivāyana*, *Śivasaṅkīrtana* and *Maṅgalakāvya*. There are two important works belonging to the *Śivāyana* group, one written by Rāmakṛishṇa Kavichandra and the other by Rāmeśvara Bhaṭṭāchārya, the latter, it is said, was composed about a century later (c. 1750 A.D.) than the former (c. 1650 A.D.).[191]

In Kavichandra's *Śivāyana*, Śiva's ascetic form is first described in the *Daksha-Śivanindā* section. Daksha, Śiva's father-in-law, being offended by the discourteous manners of Śiva, abuses his son-in-law. Although Daksha calls Śiva here an ascetic he has great doubt as to whether Śiva follows strictly the rules of Indian asceticism. At this stage, Daksha is inimical to Śiva and thinks that the ascetic form taken by his son-in-law is nothing but a pretension.[192] According to

thousand years (12.304). He is called *śmaśānavāsin* (10.84), *i.e.* he who lives at crematories. He is *chitibhasmapriya* (12.141), he who is fond of ashes from the funeral pyre and *kapālahasta* (12.143), he who holds a skull in his hand.

191. See *Śivāyana* by Rāmakṛishṇa Kavichandra published by Baṅgīya Sāhitya Parishad, 1931.

192. Kavichandra, *op.cit.*, pp. 54-57 : when other gods sing in praise of Śiva, Daksha becomes sad and remarks :

niśchay balite nāre āchār āśram /
tapasvī balāy nāī taper niyam //
śire jaṭā dhare beṭā nāhiñ pare vastra /
tapasvī haiyā kare dhare nānā astra //

He (Śiva) does not know any rule of asceticism, yet he calls himself an ascetic. The devil wears matted locks and remains undressed and even taking an ascetic form he holds various weapons in his hand. Śiva's ascetic garb, according to Daksha, is only a mockery.

Daksha, Śiva cannot be a true ascetic because he has not embraced *vānaprastha* ; he is not a celibate because he holds a woman in one half of his body and although he lives in the crematorium he cannot be called an ascetic because he has always a strong attachment for household life ; moreover, unlike a true *yogī* he is vainglorious and haughty. Thus, Daksha decides not to invite his son-in-law of dubious character to his great sacrifice.[193]

Contrary to Daksha, Nārada, in the *Nārader-upadeśa* section of the same work, holds Śiva's true ascetic form before

193. *Ibid.*, p. 56 : this may be a sarcastic remark on the class of ascetic who do nefarious deeds. The *Kūrma-purāṇa* (4.81-88) gives an interesting account of a dialogue between Dadhīchi and Daksha in connection with the sacrifice. Daksha states that no portion of a sacrifice is ever allotted to Śiva, and no prayers are directed to be addressed to him, or to his bride.

sarvveshevahi yajñeshu na bhāgaḥ parikalpitaḥ /
na mantrā bhāryyā sārdhaṁ Śaṅkarasyeti neshyate //

While Dadhīchi apparently evades the objection, and claims a share for Rudra, as one with the Sun, who is undoubtedly hymned by the several ministering priests of the Vedas : *sa stūyate sahasrāṁsuḥ sāmagadhvaryyu-hotṛibhiḥ paśyainaṁ Viśvakarmmāṇaṁ Rudraṁ mūrttītrayīmayam.*

This difference of opinion as regards Śiva's share in the sacrifice is not to be found in Kavichandra's work. Another interesting episode in relation to the sacrifice is also absent in this work. This episode, referred to in the *Vishṇu-purāṇa* (5.78-98), is about the gods' seeking permission from Śiva to attend the sacrifice performed by Daksha. The *Purāṇa* says that when Daksha commenced a holy sacrifice on the side of the Himalaya, at the sacred spot of Gaṅgādvāra (Haridwar or the place where the Ganges descends to the planes), frequented by the Ṛishis, the gods, in order to assist at this solemn rite came with Indra, as their head, to Śiva, and intimated their purpose and having received his permission, departed in their splendid chariots to Gaṅgādvāra.

The above episodes of the two *Purāṇas* evince the importance of Śiva and the humiliating behaviour shown by Daksha towards Śiva, as referred to in some of the Purāṇas and in the *Mahābhārata* (4.2.8), undoubtedly the creation of the anti-Śaivites. See *Bhāgavata-purāṇa*, 2, 7. See also *Rāmāyaṇa*, 1.66.7 ; 1-68.

Menakā, wife of Himālaya and mother of Umā, when he divulges the glorious future of the new-born babe (Umā). Nārada says that Menakā is fortunate enough to get Umā as her daughter because Umā will have Śiva as her husband. He then narrates the ascetic qualities of the great god. Śiva, after Satī's death in the great sacrifice, arranged by Daksha, was deeply aggrieved, and is still in meditation on the peak of the Himalayas completely detaching himself from worldly affairs. Nārada then describes, at length, the attitude and dress of Śiva which resemble those of a *yogī*. He says that Śiva is practising austerities ; he is naked, holding Gaṅgā in his braided hair with the half-crescent moon on his forehead. He wears a garland of skulls and wraps his body with tiger-skin, the king of snakes, Vāsuki, decks his body like an ornament. But he has neither his mount, the bull, with him nor any of his attendants accompanies him. He has given away all his weapons and attendants to Nandī for guarding Kailāsa. The picture thus drawn about Śiva by Nārada presents the god as a true *yogī*. It appears that the god has truly forsaken all worldly attachments and has been chosen to live the secluded life of a *yogī*. Although the description, in general, would have scared any prospective mother-in-law, Nārada advises Menakā to give her daughter in marriage with Śiva.[194]

Again, we find Śiva in the ascetic form when the poet relates the incident leading to the killing of the demon Tāraka. The story is narrated in detail as to how the gods assembled to find out a way of killing the demon under the leadership of Indra, how Kāmadeva was chosen to disturb Śiva's meditation and how ultimately the god of love was burnt down to ashes by the fury of the ascetic god. The different sections relating to the incident are *Tāraka-badher-upāya*, *Indrer-anurodha*, *Kāmer-abhayadāna*, *Ratir-nishedha* and *Madana-bhashma*. Among these sections, the *Ratir-*

194. Kavichandra, *op.cit.*, p. 73, vv. 24-36.

nishedha section presents a clear picture of the ascetic Śiva.

Tāraka, son of Kaśyapa and Danu, pleased Brahmā by his deep penance and became invincible. Thereafter, the demon began to oppress the three worlds. When the gods of the heaven came to know that the demon could be killed only by a son born to Śiva, they felt embarrassed, because at this time, Śiva like a true *yogī*, was practising severe austerities on the Himalayas. The gods apprehended that there was no chance of any son being born to Śiva as long as the latter would remain in meditation. At last, Indra found out a way to disturb the god's meditation.[195] He sent Kāma to do this job. Rati, Kāma's wife, tried, in vain, to dissuade her husband from undertaking this venture. She reminded Kāmadeva of the terrible consequence that would follow. Rati's words to her husband, as expressed by the poet of the *Śivāyana*, present Śiva as a perfect *yogī*. She was afraid to allow her husband to appear before Śiva lest the god's anger would destroy her husband.[196] In this connection, her description of Śiva is worthy of note.[197]

195. *Op.cit.*, p. 75, vv. 81-82 :
Brahmaloka haite Indra karilā vidāya /
bhāṅgite Śiver dhyān chintilā upāya //
See also Kālidāsa, *Meghadūta*, 2.16-30.

196. *Op.cit.*, vv. 92-98 : Rati says to Kāma :
ei kārye āile Indrer anurodhe /
sarvanāśa hae pāchhe Śaṅkarer krodhe //

197. *Ibid.*, vv. 104-08 :
dekhaha Śiver tanu sphaṭika dhavql /
saṁsārer chhāyā tāhe dekhite nirmal //
yogete āchhen Rudra basi padmāsane /
dṛishṭi sañchāre tār tejer kiraṇe //
sahasra phaṇāy chhatra dharen Vāsuki /
agniśikhā bahe jena jaṭājuṭa dekhi //
lalāṭe chandramā dekhi viśada ujjval /
dhyānete nimagna dekha lochana sakal //

In one place, Kavichandra follows old works like Kālidāsa's *Kumārasambhava* and presents Pārvatī as an ascetic. Pārvatī in order to get Śiva as her husband follows a long course of severe penance.[198] When she is in meditation, Śiva himself appears there one day as a *brāhmaṇa-yogī* to see how far the daughter of Himālaya is true to her devotion. The section depicting Śiva's appearance in the garb of an ascetic

pañcha varṇete dekha oi pañchamukh /
adbhūt Śiver mūrti dekhite kautuk //
sarper bhūshaṇ dekha aṅgad kuṇḍal /
megher varṇete oi galāy garal //
uttān jugal hasta chaturbhuj rūpe /
ār dui haste dekha akshamālā jape //
digambara veśa dekha haichhe samādhi /
ei to samaye tumi nā haiyo bādī //

Rati says to her husband to behold the crystal-like body of Śiva in which the whole world is reflected. He is seated on a lotus-seat and is in meditation. Everything around is visible by the flames radiating from his body. Vāsuki holds the canopy by spreading out its thousand hoods. His matted hair looks like flames of fire. One can see the clear moon shining on his forehead. His eyes are fixed. Everyone will be surprised to see such an image of Śiva. Rati further says that Śiva's body is decked with snakes as armlets and earrings. The colour of his neck is blue because he has swallowed poison. He has four hands of which two are uplifted and with the other two he is muttering prayers with beads. He is sky-clad and is in meditation. Rati dissuades her husband to disturb the god at this time.

198. This topic, dealt with in many other medieval works, has been discussed elsewhere in the pages of the thesis.

There was perfection in the physical beauty of Pārvatī. But, in the matter of the fruition of her love for a great *yogī* like Śiva, the fragile physical beauty was not enough. She must go through the hardest penance in order that she might make her love fruitful. It is only the spiritual glory and spiritual attainment of spiritual beauty, beauty attained by self-control and the attainment of moral height that can become permanent and eternal (Das Gupta, S. N., *History of Sanskrit Literature*, Vol.I, Intro. p. lxxx). See pl. No. VII : the object is in the Musée Guimet (Paris) collection.

brāhmaṇa is called *Brāhmaṇa-veśī-Śiva* (Śiva in the garb of a Brāhmaṇa). When Pārvatī was in meditation a *brāhmaṇa* with matted hair came to the hermitage. He had white complexion, a thread on the shoulder and was dressed like a celibate. His body was luminous as a result of penance. He had a girdle of *rudrāksha* and was wearing a piece of deer-skin. He was holding an *akshamālā* in hand and had put grass between the fingers. From his appearance it seemed that he was a sage versed in the Vedas and very bold.[199] This description undoubtedly points to the ascetic character of the god.

In order to dissuade Pārvatī from continuing her penance Śiva, as a *yogī*, speaks ill of the person whom Pārvatī has chosen to be her husband and for winning whom she is practising austerities. In this respect, Śiva uses harsh words but in the course of the dialogue, some remarks, made by him, truly represent his ascetic character. He says that the habit and dress of the person are very similar to those of an ascetic. Moreover like an Indian *sādhu* he begs from door to door. He warns Pārvatī to consider these things before she continues the penance.[200]

That Pārvatī knows the ascetic character of her future husband is clear from her remark about Śiva to Nandī. From her remark it appears that she likes this ascetic quatily of the

199. Kavichandra, *op.cit.*, pp. 45-46 :
hena kāle tapovane ek jaṭādhārī /
śubhra aṅga sūtra kāndhe veś brahmachārī //
tapasyār (phale) jyotirmay kalevara /
kuśer mekhalā kaṭi ajin ambara //
karete rudrākshamālā aṅgulete darbha /
veda viśārada ṛishi baḍai pragalbha //

200. *Ibid.*, *Chhadmaveśīr-Śivanindā*, vv. 21-26 :
śmaśāner bhasma Śiver kasturī chandana /
vyāghracharma pare Hara nā nila vasana //
digambar haiyā nāche nāhe bāse lāj /
liṅga pūjā laiyā balāy devarāj //

god.[201] Like Pārvatī, both Menakā and Himālaya think only the ascetic form of their prospective son-in-law. With this idea in their mind, they feel embarrassed to see any person in yogic dress lest they fail to recognize Śiva from among the persons with such dress. Menakā, therefore, warns her husband to remain alert to trace Śiva among the ascetics coming daily to their house.[202] From this, we get a glimpse of Indian social life. Menakā, being an Indian mother, is disturbed at the prospect of an ascetic husband for her only daughter. She is all the more purturbed because her daughter is bent on marrying the ascetic. The last verse of the section, as quoted below, points to the temperament of the mother who is not at all happy for the choice of her daughter. The father, on the contrary, has no despiteful feeling towards his daughter's choice. In fact, from the mother's remark we see that it is Himālaya who has helped Pārvatī to make the choice. It may be that the father, being an inhabitant of the mountain, has no dislike towards the ascetic god whose abode is also on the mountain. The *Śiver-chhalanā* section of the same work presents the story, narrated in early Sanskrit works, that when the mountain-god finds the flowers, which he offered to Harihara in the Ganges, are on the body of the person whom he has kept confined he understands that the *yogī* is no other than Śiva himself.[203]

kān̄dhe siddha jhūli tār nitya māge bhikshā /
ihāte jāniha Gaurī dhaner parīkshā //
[*siddha jhūli* = a satchel generally carried by *sādhus*]

201. *Op.cit., Gaurīr-rudrakālīmūrti-dhāraṇa*, vv. 64-65 :
tomār ṭhākur yogī Bholā Maheśvar /
tār tare āmār tilek nāhi ḍar //

202. *Op.cit., Śiver-bandhanadaśā*, vv. 13-16 :
kanyāre karāle tumi Śiva upāsanā /
dhariyā Harer mūrti āyise kata janā //
yogī hayā kare rājkumārīr āś /
kahe asambhav kathā nāyi kare trās //

203. *Op.cit.*, vv. 10-11 :
dekhilā yogīr gāy sei pushpa abhikhāy gan̄gājale jata kaila pūjā /

After his marriage also, Śiva cannot get rid of his ascetic habits. The author of the work, we are dealing with, says that Śiva's marriage ends happily and everyone is satisfied. Śiva and Pārvatī also spend for several amourous days; but gradually Śiva's ascetic temperament revives. He becomes eager to perform *yoga* and at the end of the sixteenth day of his marriage he bathes in the Alakānandā very early in the morning and decides to practise *yoga* again. He enters the inner compartment, sits down on the golden altar and spreads ashes over his body. Wearing a tiger-skin he sits in *padmāsana* and taking a vow of silence he plunges into meditation.[204]

In these lines the poet perhaps suggests that it is not possible for the ascetic god, a true ascetic, to change his habit. This change, the poet says, has a considerable influence on Pārvatī, who, being an ideal of Indian womanhood, decides to follow the footsteps of her husband and herself embraces the life of an ascetic. The ascetic life is not a new thing to her, because she already practised *yoga* to win her husband. She dresses herself in tiger-skin and by giving up all ornaments she wraps her body with the bark of a tree. And, being thus dressed, she begins her meditation.[205]

We have aleady discussed in the preceding pages that asceticism in India has wonderful powers. The verses 27-30 of the *Śiver-yogasādhana* section exhibit such extraordinary

204. *Op.cit.*, *Śiver-yogasādhana*, vv. 9-14 :

* * * *

sei antahpure āsi suvarṇa vedite basi
vibhūti mākhila sab aṅge |
paridhān vyāghra-kṛitti padmāsane mauna vṛitti
dhyān dhari rahila Iśān |

205. *Ibid.*, vv. 14-18 :

Pārvatī dekhiā pati haila samān bratī
vyāghracharma kaila paridhān |
chhādila bhūshaṇ vās mekhalā kuśer pāś
vākal uttarī āchhādan ||

power of Śiva's *yoga.* The god continues severe penance along-with his bride, as a result of which the mountain region is flooded with radiance and the pebbles and stones around the mountain grow luminous. The precious gems and stones like ruby, diamond and saphire shine and all the six seasons appear, at a time, in the region and the whole forest is filled with fruits and flowers.[206]

Śiva's ascetic temperament sometime brings in calamity to his family. In the Purāṇas, the Epics and the Maṅgala Kāvyas, a householder's life is attributed to the god who is better known for his asceticism. A greater part of the *Śivāyanas* deal with the homely life of the ascetic god. There we see that Pārvatī often quarrels with Śiva who, it appears, cannot adjust himself to the household atmosphere. This is because he cannot dissociate himself absolutely from his ascetic habits. In the *Durgār-Kondalopākhyān* section of this work, we find Śiva indifferent in taking any interest in household affairs. The whole family is starving ; yet he remains in meditation.[207] The quarrel between Pārvatī and Śiva, as we shall see later, is a popular subject in the *Maṅgalakāvyas* and the *Śivāyanas.* It may be that the poets of these works intend to say that the two lives, the life of a householder (*gṛihī*) and that of an ascetic (*yogī*), are poles asunder, the twain can never meet and that if anyone tries to fuse the two

206, *Ibid.*, vv. 27-30 :

Śiver taper teje śobhā haila girirāje
jyotirmay jata dhātu śilā /
dipti kare mahaushadhi ratna padmarāg ādi
vidūr māṇikya hīrā nīlā //
chhay ṛitu himāchale mūrtimān sei kāle
phale phule van suśobhita /

207. *Op.cit.*, vv. 5-8 :

nāhi dhān nāhi dhānya sakal bhāṇḍār śūnya
devatā bhakshya nāhi sudhā /
sarvāṅge bhushaṇ bhogī dhyānete āchhen yogī
Kārttika Gaṇeśa haila kshudhā //

together, *i.e.*, to make a compromise between the two, the result is confusion and disruption. Is it because of this conflicting feeling that the greater part of the home life of Pārvatī is disturbed and wrought in quarrels ?

In Rāmeśvara's *Śivasaṅkirtana*[208] there are references to Śiva's ascetic aspect ; but the author of this work, unlike Kavichandra, the author of the *Śivāyana*, is not very particular in depicting the ascetic quality of the god. A faint touch of asceticism is noticed when the god, hearing his wife Satī's death, is found determined to renounce the world and embrace the life of an ascetic.[209] The same idea we get in another verse which says that Śiva rubs his body with ashes and in the memory of Satī he makes the crematorium his dwelling place.[210]

In the next section entitled *Daksher-chhāgmuṇḍa-dhāraṇ*, Śiva, after adopting the life of an ascetic, is seen to perform austerities.[211] In the *Chhadmaveśī-Śiver-upadeśa* section also, we find Śiva appearing in the form of an ascetic before Pārvatī who was performing austerities in order to satisfy the god. Śiva takes pity on Pārvatī, approaches her and begins to converse with her.[212] Here it is interesting to note that the god, in spite of having many other forms, likes to appear

203. According to D. C. Sen the *Śivāyana* (the song of Śiva) was written by Rāmeśvra about 1750 A.D. (*Vaṅga Śāhitya Parichaya*, Vol. I, p. 16). Asutosh Bhattacharyya says that, at Karṇagaḍh, six miles from Midnapur, there was a temple of Mahāmāyā founded by Yaśovanta and in this temple Rāmeśvara used to mutter *Śivamantras* in *yogāsana* (*Bāṅglā Maṅgala Kāvyer Itihāsa*, p. 97).

209. *Rāmeśvara*, *Śivasaṅkīrtana*, *Dakshayajña-dhvaṁsa*, v. 404 :

āpane satīr śoke hailā vikal /
Śaṅkar vairāgya jān chhāḍiyā sakal //

210. *Ibid.*, v. 413 :

chītābhashma gāy mākhyā kaila sannyās /
Satīr smaraṇe kaila smasān nivās //

211. *Op.cit.* vv. 502-04.

212. *Op.cit.*, vv. 613-14.

before Pārvatī as an ascetic for testing the truth of Pārvatī's devotion. From the same section we come to know that because of continuous addiction to asceticism even Śiva's body smells like that of a *yogī*. The poet jestingly says that so bitter is the smell of his body at this stage that even Yama, the god of death, cannot stand near him.[213]

Bhāratachandra in his *Annadāmaṅgala* has not forgotten to mention this special characteristic of Śiva. We get a clear glimpse of this feature of the god when the poet describes the god's severe penance in the *Śiver-pañchatapa* section.[214] It is said therein that the sacred city of Vārāṇasī (Kāśī) was made the seat of the goddess Annadā and Śiva, in order to install the goddess there, himself began austerities. In the closing lines of the preceding section the poet says that when he composed the lines the great ascetic Śiva sat in meditation.[215] The first few lines of the next section present truly the ascetic form of Śiva. In order to propitiate the goddess Annadā, Hara became an ascetic by giving up greed, infatuation, lust, anger and other human passions. Wearing the robe of ascetic he sat on a deer-skin and began to meditate.[216] The poet, however, could not think of any other form of Śiva

213. *Ibid.*, v. 629 :
pret bhūt piśāch layyā saṅga
gāyer yogiā gandhe Yama dila bhaṅga |

214. Bhāratachandra, *op.cit.*, 11.312-48.

215. *Op.cit., Devagaṇa nimantraṇa* :
tapasyāy mahāyogī basila Śaṅkar |
rachila Bhāratachandra Rāy Guṇākar ||

216. *Op.cit.*, 11.416-24 :
tapasvī hailā Hara Annadā bhābiā |
lobh moha kām krodh ādi tyāgiyā ||
jaṭā bhasma hāḍmālā śobhā haila baḍa |
brahmarūp Annapūrṇā dhyāne haila daḍa ||
bichhāiā mṛigachhāl basila āsane |
kare layej apamālā mudita nayane ||

except that of an ascetic. The poet further says that in order to please the goddess, Annadā, Śiva also practised the severe penance known as *pañchatapa*.[217] The miserable condition of the god, in consequence of the austerities, is described in the above mentioned section. Śiva continued the penance for a long period, trees like *śāl*, *piāl* and *tamāl* grew on his body, his skin and flesh fell off and only the bones remained. But the goddess was not satisfied.[218]

Like the poets of the *Maṅgala Kāvyas*, the Maithili poet Vidyāpati is keen in presenting this particular aspect of Śiva. Vidyāpati has written mainly on Vishṇu (Kṛishṇa), but, being a devotee of Śiva, he also wrote a number of *padas* (verses) on Śiva, which are generally known as *nachāri*. In some of these *padas*, Śiva appears as an ascetic but Vidyāpati's Śiva is neither found in deep meditation on the Himālaya nor is he eager to take to the life of asceticism, the traits which are commonly found in the *Maṅgala* works. In Vidyāpati, we find Śiva as an ascetic in connection with his coming, as a bridegroom, to Daksha's house. In one poem, however, where the poet describes the *Ardhanārīśvara* (half-man,

217. Under this form of penance, an ascetic has to follow a long course of austerities ; in the scorching heat of the summer sun, he has to do penance by keeping always a fire burning before him ; in the rainy season, he sits under heavy showers and in the severest winter he meditates bare-bodied. He goes on meditating even when shrubs grow on his body.

218. *Ibid.*, vv. 312-14 :

eirūp tapasyāy gelo kata kāl |
śarīre janmila sāl piāl tamāl ||
charma māṅgsa ādi gelo asthi mātra śesh |
tathāpi nā hay Annadār dayā leś ||

This dreadful condition of Śiva reminds one of the story of the robber Ratnākar who took to severe penance after giving up his habit of robbery. In course of his long penance, he was completely wrapped by white-ants (*Valmīka*) whence the robber got his name *Vālmīki* (the composer of the *Rāmāyaṇa*).

half-woman) form of the god ; he, as a man, is represented with the qualities of an ascetic (*yogī*) and as a woman his representation is that of an enjoyer (*bhogī*).[219]

As has already been stated, Vidyāpati's Śiva cannot be called a stern ascetic. He wears the yogic dress when he comes to marry Pārvatī. Although the god in his yogic attire is sometimes ridiculed by Pārvatī's companions, yet, the poet thinks, like Pārvatī herself, that she is the luckiest woman to get Śiva as her husband. In the poem No. 244, Śiva, in an ascetic dress, comes to marry. His bull comes in haste and the garland of skulls round his neck makes a jingling sound. Holding a kettle-drum in hand, the god takes *bhāṅg* (a favourite drug of the ascetics) continuously.[220] In another poem (No. 238), Pārvatī's companions are seen to take fancy on the yogic appearance of Śiva. They are overwhelmed with joy and say to Pārvatī's mother that they have seen a *yogī* whose handsome appearance cannot be described in words. The ascetic has five faces and three big eyes. On his head flows the Gaṅgā and the moon shines on his forehead. At the sight of this *yogī* all sorrows and worries disappear. If Pārvatī once sees this ascetic she would not think of anyone else to be her husband.[221]

219. Mathur, V. K. (ed.), *Vidyāpati kī padāvalī* (in Hindi), poem No. 231, pp. 396-97.

220. *Op cit.*, p. 425 :

yahi vidhi byāhan āyo chan bāur yogī /
ṭapara ṭapara kara basaha āyala
khaṭara khaṭara ruṇḍamāl /
bhakara bhakara Śiva bhāṅg bhakosathi
ḍamaru lela kara lāy //

221. *Ibid.*, p. 416 :

jogiyā ek hum dekhalau ge māi /
anhad rūp kahalo nahi jāī //
pāñch vadan tīn nayan visālā /
vasan bīhun oḍhan bāghchhālā //
sire bahe gaṅg tilak sohe chandā /
dekhi sarūp meṭala dukh dandā //

Pārvatī herself speaks of the benign nature of the god in his ascetic form. Śiva, according to her, is so much disinterested in worldly life that he always thinks for the good of mankind and never thinks for his own self or family. Vidyāpati's Pārvatī, unlike Chaṇḍī of the *Maṅgala Kāvya*, neither curses her fate on this account nor does she quarrel with her husband. In poem No. 246, the generosity is explained by Pārvatī to her mother. She says that her ascetic husband makes everyone happy in the world, he does not put anyone to sorrow. When he has no money to help others, he does not hesitate even to sell his favourite *bhāṅg* and *dhatūrā*. As he cares for the whole world, he cannot look after his own sons.[222] That is to say, Vidyāpati's Śiva is forgetful of himself and of his family because he has to look after the whole world. This sort of selflessness we can hardly find in an ordinary man ; this is a way (*līlā*) of god, so to say. This sort of forgetfulness is only an idealism which a man should learn to achieve.

The same idea of generosity of Śiva as an ascetic is expressed in another poem (No. 247). Here the poet says that the ascetic god takes enough *bhāṅg*, and in consequence, forgets everything about himself. But, at the same time, he remains fully conscious of the well-being of others and, although he himself wears only deer-skin and takes *bhāṅg* and *dhatūrā*, he gives everyone else garments to wear and rich food to eat.[223]

jāhi jogiya lai rahali Bhavānī |
bhanānali var kaun gun jānī ||

222. *Ibid.*, p. 228 :
āge māi jogiyā mor jagat sukhadāyaka
dukh kakro nahi dela |
dukh kakro nahi dela Mahādeva
dukh kakro nahi dela ||
yadi jogiyā ke bhāṅg bhulailaka
dhatūr khavāi dhan lela |

223. *Ibid.*, p. 429 :
jogiyā bhaṅgvā khāila bhelā raṅgiyā
Bholā banḍalaba ||

In Vidyāpati's description of *Ardhanārīśvara*, we get a fine picture of compromise between a *yogī* and *bhogī*. In this description, the left half of the body is that of Pārvatī symbolising the *bhogī* aspect while the right half is that of Śiva himself who represents only the yogic quality. The poem No. 231 narrates the fusion of the two principles of the world, *viz.* the male and the female, from the union of which the world is created ; this union also presents the two aspects of the god, the yogic and the *bhogī* which medieval Indian literature has expressed in relation to Śiva. The poet at first pays obeisance to Śiva in form of *Ardhanārīśvara* He says that the left half of his body is yellow because Gaurī has yellow complexion and the right half is clear white which is Śiva's complexion. In one half there is the swelling bust of a woman and the broad flattened chest of a man can be noticed in the other half. There is a garland of skulls in one half and the other half is decked with a necklace of large pearls. Sandal paste is smeared in one half of the body and the other half is covered with ashes. The left half is conscious of worldly affairs, while the right is the embodiment of forgetfulness. There is the spirit of asceticism in the right half and the sense of enjoyment is the characteristic of the left half. This is why the left half is wrapped up with clothes and the right one remains bare. For this reason, the left half of the face appears to be loving and compassionate and the right half indicates an attitude of detachment and indifference.[224]

224. *Ibid.*, p. 400 :

jay jay Śaṅkar jay Tripurāri /
jay ādha purusha jayati ādha nārī //
ādha dhawal tanu ādha gorā /
ādha sahaja kucha ādha kaṭorā //
ādha hāḍamālā, ādha gajamoti /
ādha chānan sohe ādha vibhūti //
ādha chetan mati ādha bhorā /
ādha paṭor ādha muñja ḍorā //

The quarrel of Śiva with Daksha is a common subject of description in different works. We have seen that Śiva, on hearing the death of his beloved wife, Umā, destroys Daksha's sacrifice and decides to live the life of an ascetic. The authors of the different works knew well that, according to the Hindu conception, the bondage between the husband and the wife is eternal and that death cannot separate them. They unite and reunite again and again in the cycle of rebirths. Thus Umā, reborn as the daughter of Himālaya, had to perform austerities only to unite with Śiva, her husband in her previous birth. In course of time, Śiva becomes the father of two sons and leads the life of a householder with Pārvatī, his good wife. They live happily for sometime, but, as time passes by, Śiva is put to inconvenience when he finds that he has not the means to feed properly the members of the family. In consequence, ill-feeling crops up between Śiva and Pārvatī, the latter abusing her husband off and on. Śiva has no other way left but begging. But even then, sometimes he has to return without getting alms. Now, the question is as to why the poets present Śiva in this way. The reason is not far to seek when we see that the aim of the poets is to draw a picture of woes and misery of a common man through the character of Śiva. The poet's idea may be to console an ordinary man when Śiva, being even a god, has to face hardship, it is but natural that man has to confront misery.

In this connection, it is interesting to note that while the beggar aspect of Śiva has been dealt with in all the *Maṅgala Kāvyas*, it is absent in the early religious works. The *Vāmana-purāṇa* has mentioned in one place the term *bhikshu* ; it

ādha joga ādha bhogavilāsa |
ādha pidhan ādha nāgavāsa ||
ādha chan ādha sindur sobhā |
ādha virūpa ādha jaga lobhā ||
bhane kaviratan vidhātā jāne |
dui kāl bāṭala ek parāṇe ||

means a monk or ascetic (*cf.* Buddhist *bhikshu* or Hindu *bhikshuka*) who is primarily a beggar.[225] Here Śiva appears before Pārvatī in the guise of an ascetic, whose dress sometimes looks like that of a beggar. And, in this respect, he resembles a beggar but Śiva of the *Maṅgala Kāvyas*, as we shall see later, is a beggar *de facto*, roaming from door to door for a handful of alms.[226] As it has been already stated, the true beggar aspect of Śiva is given prominence in medieval Bengali literature, because Śiva's character has been envisaged by the poets like that of one who has not the means to meet both ends. Śiva, therefore, in their hands, plays the role of an ordinary person belonging to the low-income group. An ascetic sometimes lives on begging but Śiva begs, in so far as the subject has been discussed in the medieval literature of Bengal, for his family. Śiva is here, as it were, compelled to take begging under pressure of family life.

In Rāmeśvara's *Śivasaṅkīrtana*, Śiva thinks that it is better to beg for maintaining the family than to stay on in his father-in-law's house. Here the poet hints at the general feeling of the Bengali Society. To remain as *ghar-jāmāi* (the son-in-law living in the father-in-law's house) is very much looked down upon in Bengal as also in some other states of the country. The son-in-law, in such cases, becomes, generally, an object of ridicule and criticism unless he lives on his own. Śiva's character in the particular section of

225. 2.48 : Pārvatī asks Śiva :
Kasmād tvaṁ gamyate bhiksho kutra sthāne tavāśramaḥ |
Kutastat parigantāsi mama śīghraṁ nivedaya ||

226. Begging is despised in the Vedas. In *RV*, 2.8.11, a *ṛishi* says to Indra that he does not want to be reduced to such a condition as to be compelled to beg from the rich (see Das, A. C., *Rigvedic Culture*, pp. 306-7). The *Smṛitis*, however, prescribe begging as specially appropriate to the *brahmachārīs* (Vedic students) and *yatis* (ascetics). See Kane, *History of Dharmaśāstra*, Vol. II, pt. II, pp. 133-34. But in the *Mahābhārata* (7.77.22), the King of Kekaya is found boasting that no one, who is a *brahmachārī*, begs in his kingdom.

Rāmeśvara's work is also drawn in a like manner.[227] He is constantly ridiculed by the members of his father-in-law's family and in order to get rid of the shameful life he, being without any other source of income, decides to beg, the only means left. It is important to note, in this connection, that this particular trait of the god is absent in other early Śaivite works.

In the *Kochnīpaḍāy-Śiva* section of Rāmeśvara's work, while Śiva is found engaged in making funs with the Koch girls, he has no other way but to live on alms which he collects at the end of the day.[228] It may be that Śiva roams as a beggar in the Koch land only to hide his identity and not to collect alms for his family. Śiva is all alone in the midst of the Koch girls and it is possible that he has forgotten all about his wife and children. He might have taken the guise of a beggar to make himself easily accessible to the Koch girls. If this is so, then it is a peculiar motive of the god behind his adopting beggarhood which is not mentioned in early works.

In the *Śiver-bhikshāvṛitti* section, we get a detailed description of Śiva as a beggar. The section opens with the scene wherein Śiva is found moving from place to place crying out 'give me alms.' As soon as the god's voice is heard, the married women-folk come out restlessly and give him whatever they can.[229]

The beggar aspect of Śiva has not escaped Bhāratachandra's notice. He has described this aspect in several

227. *Op.cit.*, *Śiver-Śvaśur-bāḍite-bās*, vv. 886-90.

228. *Ibid.*, vv. 905-08 :

nitya nitya ei kīrtti kare kṛittivāsa /
din śeshe dīn veśe bhikshā abhilāsha //

229. *Ibid.*, vv. 1002-04 :

bhrūkuṭi kariā bholā bhāla bhūmitale /
bhavane bhavane bhikshā dehi dehi bale //
śuniā Śiver śabda simantinīgaṇ /
dekhiyā kare digambarer dai nānādhan //

sections of his *Annadāmaṅgala*. His description is so vivid that sometimes our heart rends for the god's pitiable plight. We indeed feel for the god when he expresses his misery to his wife in the section *Hara-Gaurīr-vivād-sūchanā*. Śiva says that his whole body is numbed on account of hunger. With great difficulty he can collect a few morsels of food by begging and can hardly satisfy the members of his family. Our heart sobs all the more when we find the god saying that he has not the luck to get a full meal even for a single day. In these verses, he is seen all along to curse his own fate. He says that, when others enjoy, he suffers. Even the low-born people laugh at his condition.[230] It appears that the god is destined to beg for his subsistence. The interesting thing to note is that even in this miserable plight Śiva of this work has not forgotten his superior position and he cannot bear the taunts of the people who, he believes, are much lower in status than he. Śiva, in a sense, has to play the role of a common man in the hand of the poet of the *Annadāmaṅgala Kāvya*. Here, his wife belongs to the lower middle-class family of Bengal who curses her husband regularly for the latter's inability to provide minimum food and clothing for the members of his family. In this connection another interesting point to note is that the Śiva of Bhāratachandra, like the Śiva of Vidyāpati, does not squander away everything for others neglecting the members of his own family. He is not an extravagant and has feeling for his sons and wife, but,

230. *Op.cit.*, vv. 6-7, 20-22 :

Śaṅkar kahen śuna śunaha Śaṅkarī |
kshudhāy kāṅpaye aṅga balaha ki kari ||
nitya nitya bhikshā māgi āniyā jogāi |
sādh kare ek din peṭ bhare khāi ||

* * *

sakaler ghare ghare nitya phiri mege |
sarama bharama gela udarer lege ||
bhikshā māgi bhikshā māgi kāṭilām kāl |
tabu ghuchāite nārilām bāghchhāl ||

as a result of his ill-luck, he has not the means by which he can maintain his family. There is, however, a fault which is commonly found in other medieval Śaiva works, in the Śiva of Bhāratachandra and this is his addiction to *bhāṅg*, or *siddhi*.[231] It may be that the poet, by referring to this drug-habit of the god, suggests that the people could try to forget their miseries under some sort of intoxication.

When Chaṇḍī, Śiva's wife, finds that the whole family is on the brink of starving, she, out of agony, bursts into fury and a rift is caused between the husband and the wife. There is no other way left for Śiva but to leave home. In fact, many ill-fated persons of the low-income group of Bengal have to follow Śiva's example. Śiva calls his favourite Nandī, and decides to go out for collecting alms. In the section *Śiver-bhikshāy-gamanodyog*, Bhāratachandra presents successfully the state of Śiva's mind when he prepares to go out for begging. The god is much advanced in age and it is not possible for him to bear the strain of hunger. On hearing harsh words from Bhavānī, Śiva was ashamed. But, at that time he was very hungry. The poet says that the greater part of the day had already passed by and because of hunger the god's liver was upset. Indeed, it is difficult for an old man to endure hunger.[232]

In this context, Śiva's *modus operandi* of begging is noticeable. He asks Nandī to bring him all accessories suitable for a beggar. Śiva is, at this time, seen to be fully aware of the fact that unless he wears properly the beggar's garb it may not be

231. This topic is dealt with in detail in Chapter III : Hemp-smoker.

232. *Op.cit.*, vv. 1-2 :

Bhavānīr kaṭubhāshe
lajjā haila Kṛittivāse
kshudhānale kalevar dahe /
belā haila atirikta
pitte haila galā tikta
vṛiddhaloke kshudhā nāhi sahe //

possible for him to win the heart of the people when he begs. Bhāratachandra's Śiva is, thus, to some extent, consciout of human psychology. He readily asks Nandī to bring his bull, his horn-flute, the garland made of skulls and the kettledrum and to rub his body with ashes.[233] Śiva is here found fully cognisant of what should be the proper dress of a beggar. Perhaps the poets description of Śiva probably hints at those beggars who sometimes, by their make-up, induce the householders to give them alms.

The god, for his strong addiction to narcotic drugs, does not forget to take *dhatūrā* or *siddhi* before he leaves home. He asks Nandī to take *dhatūrā* fruits as many as possible alongwith a full plate of *siddhi* dust. He also tells Nandī that the latter should not forget to take the bowl so that *siddhi* may be prepared, whenever necessary, with the water of the Gaṅgā whom he holds in his braided hair.[234] Thus we find that Bhāratachandra's Śiva pre-arranges everything possible so that he may not go without his favourite drug when he moves about to collect alms. In a sense, therefore, Bhāratachandra's Śiva can hardly be called *bholā* (forgetful) which is a special characteristic of his, referred to in some Śaiva works. Bhāratachandra's Śiva, it appears, is more

233. *Ibid.*, vv. 3-4 :

hen̄ṭmukhe Pan̄chānan
Nandire ḍākiyā kan
vṛisha āna jāiba bhikshāy /
āna śiṅgā hāḍmāl
ḍamaru bāgher chhāl
vibhūti lepiā deha gāy //

234. *Ibid.*, vv. 24-26 :

ānare triśūl jhuli
pramatha sakal guli
jataguli dhatūrār phal /
thāli bharā siddhi-gun̄ḍā
lahare ghoṭnā-kuḍā
jaṭāy āchhaya gaṅgājal //

material and seldom forgets anything ; and therefore, when he goes out to beg he remains fully aware of his habits, dress and position.

In one place of this work Śiva confesses that he has to accept beggarhood because he is not suitable for any other job. He has no knowledge of trade and commerce nor of the tilling the soil. He is disgusted with his family dominated by a quarrelsome wife and decides to leave home. Being unfit for any sort of work, the god can think of no other means but begging to maintain himself. In remorse, he says that he, who has a quarrelsome wife, is almost like a dead person and he should go to live in the forest. The god then says with regret that, because of his worthlessness, he is deprived of everything.[235] It thus appears that Śiva of this work is conscious of his shortcomings ; but at the same time he is fully

235. *Ibid.*, vv. 7-12 :

ghar ujāḍiā jāba
bhikshāy je pāi khāba
adyābadhi chhāḍinu Kailās /
nārī jār svatantarā
se jan jiyante maḍā
tāhāre uchit vanavās //
vṛiddhakāl āpanār
nāhi jāni rojgār
chāshvās bāṇijya vyāpār /
sakale nirguṇ(1) *kay*
bhulāy sarvvasva lay
nām mātra rahiyāchhe sār //
jata āni tata nāi
nā ghuchila khāi khāi(2)
kivā sukh e ghare thākiā /
eta bali digambar
ārohiā vṛishavar
chalilen bhikshār lāgiā //

(1) The word *nirguṇ* also means the Absolute in reference to Śiva.

(2) The poet hints at the feeling of the wife and other members of a family.

aware of his own self. In a sense, he is more human than divine.

Bhāratachandra's Chaṇḍī has somewhat different opinion about begging. She believes that it does not pay and speaks highly of trade and cultivation. Chaṇḍī says to Śiva that the goddess of fortune who dwells in trade, also favours those who are engaged in cultivation. The householders unanimously declare that begging is useless.[236] From these it appears that Bhāratachandra's Pārvatī is intelligent enough and is practical. And, therefore, she pleads for those sources which can fetch definite income. In fact, such is the desire of the women-folk in general. They want their husbands to take up that profession which offers a definite income.

In spite of Pārvatī's dissuasion, Śiva decides to get out for begging. The god, while roaming from door to door, finds, to his surprise, that all refuse to give him food because they do not have it. Śiva then comes to Lakshmī who also expresses her inability to give him anything. And finally, he gets relief only when he, under Lakshmī's advice, approaches Pārvatī who, as Devī Annadā, accepts the god and feeds him to his satisfaction. No such story is found in other Śaivite works and it may be that in order to sing the praise of the goddess, the poet has thus moulded the story.

In the *Kavikaṅkaṇa Chaṇḍī* of Mukundarāma the beggar aspect of Śiva is also not absent. We know that Pārvatī feels humiliated at the abusive remarks made by her father about her husband on the occasion of his sacrifice and she dies of grief. Pārvatī, we also know, reborn as the daughter of Himālaya, begins severe penance to win Śiva again as her husband. These stories have been re-narrated in a similar fashion also in the medieval works of Eastern and Northern India. The story of Śiva's appearance before Pārvatī in order to test the latter's sincerity of devotion is incorporated in a similar way in ancient as also medieval Śaiva works.

236. *Ibid.*, vv. 20-24.

Śiva himself appears as a beggar and tries to dissuade Pārvatī from marrying a person who, he says, is only a beggar. The discussion, which Śiva holds, in this connection, with Pārvatī, reveals Śiva's knowledge about the shortcoming of beggarhood. It is interesting to note how Śiva himself appearing as a beggar ridicules a beggar's life. It is all the more interesting to find that the authors of these works present Śiva in the garb of a beggar on this occasion. In the later part of these works, so also in the *Kavikaṅkaṇa Chaṇḍī*, we find Śiva begging from door to door. Here, as already stated, he is rather compelled, under circumstances, to accept this profession as there is no other way for him to feed his family. Here, Śiva acts like an ordinary member of the low-income group of our society. On the other hand, when he appears as a beggar and converses with Pārvatī about beggarhood, it seems as if the god has adopted the life of a beggar because he has liked that sort of life. In this case, he has nothing to do, so to say, with the maintenance of his family. He is still an ascetic and begging is the only source for his livelihood. This idea is expressed in the opening lines of the section *Śaṅkarer-chhalanā* where the god asks Pārvatī as to why she has decided to marry an old beggar. He tries to convince Pārvatī in various ways that a beggar is despised by everyone and she should not choose a beggar as her husband. When Śiva sees that Pārvatī will not budge an inch from her decision, he makes a last effort by openly cursing beggarhood. He says that begging is a curse to mankind and a woman with a poor husband has to live a wretched life. A poor man has no place in this world and, by accepting such a man as husband, she will only invite sorrow. The god is, however, pleased at last with Pārvatī's sincerity and they are married happily.[237]

Soon after marriage, Pārvatī sees that her husband is not liked by the members of her father's family. Her mother, Menakā, quarrels with her complaining that her son-in-law

237. *Op.cit.*, pp. 28-32, 36-40 & 42-44.

has nothing with which he can support his family. She tells her daughter that she will not allow the latter's husband to stay in her house any longer. She says that the son-in-law is so poor that, not to speak of providing clothes for his wife and sons, he himself wears only a tiger-skin. The only wealth he has is an old bull and a garland of bones round the neck. She further says that she cannot purchase *bhāṅg* any longer for the worthless fellow. Hearing such painful remarks from her mother, Pārvatī shivers in anger and replies that the grains, from which the mother has cooked food so long, have grown on the lands given to her husband by her father. And, therefore, it is not true that her husband has not contributed anything for his maintenance. She says that, when he has been so ignominously ridiculed, she has decided to leave her father's house for good. Pārvatī then relates everything to her husband and advises him to beg rather than to live in such humiliation. It is interesting to note here that while the Pārvatī of Bhāratachandra despises beggarhood and abuses her husband for begging, the Pārvatī of Mukundarāma advises her husband to adopt the profession of begging. In the following section, *Śaṅkarer-bhikshā*, we find Śiva actually begging from door to door with the kettle-drum and horne-flute in his hands.

Next, in connection with the beggar aspect of the god, the poet presents an interesting scene where he, in course of his itinerary, reaches the Koch locality. The scene is important in so far as it refers to the god's relation with the Koch people.[238] As a matter of fact, Śiva, in one place, himself says

238. The Koch people inhabit different parts of Eastern India, especially Assam and Northern Bengal. They are the converts of Hinduism from the ranks of the Kāchār, Lābung, Mikir and other tribes (see Gait, *History of Assam*, pp. 44-45). Bryan Hodgson classed the Koches with the Bodos and Dhimals and the same view is taken by Buchanan (see *Assam Census Report*, 1891, p. 212). Dalton and Risley hold that the Dravidian characteristics predominate in the Koch people (see *Bengal*

that a Koch wife is his *śakti* without whom he is nothing more than *śava* (*i.e. nishkala,* inert) and that he attains *siddhi*[239] (success) only in the company of a Koch wife.[240]

Census Report, 1901, p. 382). The race is distinguished by the slanting Mongolian eye, broad flat face, high cheek bones, short wide nose, and large ears, thus resembling many of the Kols. They, however, desire to be called Rāj-bansis, and profess to be Hindus, or Moslems. Ages of mixture with Drāvīḍas and Aryans have affected the type (*ERE*, Vol. II, pp. 416-17 ; Vol. VI, p. 690 and Johnston's "Yellow Men of India", in *Asiatic Quarterly*, Jan. 1893) :

Firishtā's account, in this connection, is interesting. According to him, there was, in northern India, a powerful King named Kidār Brāhmaṇ. He was overthrown by Shankal or Shangaldeb, who came from the Koch land. He first conquered Baṅg, or the country east of the Bhāgīrathī and Bihar, and then collected an enormous army and vanquished Kidār in several hard-fought battles. He founded the city of Gaur or Lakhnauti, which, it is said, remained the capital of the Kings of Bengal for 2000 years. (For Firishtā's account see Gait, *op.cit.*, pp. 19-20, 61-64 ; Elliot, *History of India*, Vol. VI, p. 533). The *Shāhanāmā* of Firdausī, corroborated by the *Riyāz-us-Salātīn*, tr. Abdus Salam, pp. 56, 151, also mentions an Indian prince named Shangal in connection with the adventures of Bahram Gaur, a Persian monarch of the Sasanian dynasty who reigned in the middle of the 4th century A.D. The legend referred to above may be of little historical value, but, it is interesting in so far as it gives and account of the movement of the Koches in the eastern part of the country.

239. Other implications of the term *siddhi* have been dealt with elsewhere.

240. *Śaktikāgamasarvasva-tantra*, vv. 29-31 :

śaktiṁ vinā Maheśāni sadāham śavarūpakam
Sāvitrī sahito Brahmā siddhobhūnnaganandinī
dvāravatyāṁ Kṛishṇodevaḥ siddhobhūt satyāsaha ||
tathā Kochabadhūsaṅgān mama siddhirvarānana

According to the *Yoginī-tantra* (vv. 14-18), the royal family of Kochbihar originates from Śiva ; in this text the Koch has been named Kuvācha and the story of origination is narrated by one Śavarī. This story gives the hint that once the Koch people held a strong position in the eastern part of the country. From this story, again, we may also trace the early

In the *Annadāmangala*, Pārvatī says to Śiva that, if the wife of a man dies, he does not remember her and takes another woman as his spouse. She does not believe that the god likes to unite half of his body with that of hers, because he has always a mind to go to the house of Koch women. This shows that Pārvatī is already aware of Śiva's attachment for Koch girls.[241] In the *Chaṇḍīmangala Kāvya* also, there is a scene presenting Śiva in close intimacy with the Koch girls. Śiva with the king of the snakes on his neck, goes, with a joyful heart to the door of every Koch woman. The Koch girls come forward and catch hold of Śiva's garment, some of them even drag his garment in fun.[242] Śiva sits beside the girls and becomes sad to think that young women never like an old man. In the same way, the Koch girls are found to be intimate with the god in the following lines of the same section. The girls began to amuse at Śiva's behaviour and said that they would like to go to his young wife and enquire about his strength direct from her.[243]

association of Śiva with the non-Aryan tribes like the Koches, Śavaras and Kirātas. Some of these tribes were mountain-dwellers and we know from the history of Śaivism that Śiva was once a mountain-god and only in the later period he became popular in the plains. It is, thus, possible that some of these tribes, especially the Koches, took Śiva to be their most favourite god from whom they sometimes claimed their origination, and apparently Śiva was identified with a Koch divinity.

241. *Op.cit., Haragaurīr-Kathopakathan*, vv. 12-13 :

ardha anga jadi mor ange milāibā |
Kuchnīr bāḍi tabe kemane jāibā ||

242. *Op.cit., Mahādever-bhikshāy-gaman*, vv. 12-16 :

das pāñch sakhī meli
Śiver vasan dhari
keha vā ṭānaye parihāse |

243. *Ibid.*, vv. 21-22 :

Śankarer hāsya bhāve
Kūchni ramaṇī hāse
bibhāa kaila jubatī ramaṇī |

In Rāmeśvara's *Śivāyana*, Bhīma,[244] Śiva's nephew and attendant, gets tired in course of ploughing the land because he had been without food for a long time. At that time, being impatient, he says to Śiva that if the latter does not supply him food he would tell his aunt, *i.e.*, Śiva's wife, that his uncle has fled with a Koch girl. From this remark we can well understand that Bhīma knows his uncle's weakness ; he also knows that Śiva, like an ordinary husband, is afraid of his wife.[245] Nārada, another nephew[246] of Śiva, also knows this particular weakness of the god. His habit is to create quarrels among gods. Thus he tries to enrage Gaurī against her husband by stating that she had made a mistake by sending the god to till the soil because the latter, leaving aside of cultivation, is mad after Koch girls. Nārada further says that his uncle is so much infatuated on these girls that it is now impossible to keep him under control. In the section *Kochnīpāḍāy-Śiva*, Rāmeśvara presents a picture as to how the Koch girls are attracted, quite naturally, towards Śiva. Here the poet compares the Koch girls' behaviour towards Śiva with that of the Gopīs towards Kṛishṇa. The Gopīs would become sick of passion on hearing the flute of Kṛishṇa ; in a similar way, no sooner the Koch girls hear the sound of Śiva's drum than they are eager to meet the latter. Is this a call of the Absolute (Kṛishṇa or Śiva *i.e.*, the *Paramātmā*) to the individual soul (the Gopīs or the Koch girls *i.e.*, the *jīvātmā*) ?

kāli morā jāiba tathā
tomār vikramer kathā
jñāta haba tār mukhe śuni //

244. Bhīma is called by the author of the *Śūṇya-purāṇa* Bhīma Khettik, *i.e.*, one who is skilled in cultivation. See Rāmāi Paṇḍit, *Śūṇya purāṇa*, p. 188.

245. Rāmeśvara, *op.cit.*, vv. 2282-83.

246. According to the *Dharma-purāṇa*, Nārada is born of the womb of Padminī, sister of the three gods, Brahmā, Vishṇu and Śiva. See Rāmāi Paṇḍit, *op.cit.*, p. 64.

As a matter of fact, the individual soul only craves for mingling with the Absolute because this mingling is the final goal of a *jīva* and is called *moksha* or *nirvāṇa, i.e.*, release. The poet says that the *śiṅgā* (horn) of the god calls the Koch women to come out in haste. The call has such a strong power of attraction that all the Koch women, on hearing the sound, become overwhelmed and run to meet Śiva crying out 'We have heard the great sound, Śiva is coming.' This reminds us of *gopīs* who used to come out hastily on hearing the sound of Kṛishṇa's flute.[247] In another place of the same section, Śiva, like Kṛishṇa, is compared with a bee.[248] The Koch women are, as if, a garden of flowers and Śiva, as a bee, sucks honey from them. This lines remind us of the Hindi work *Bhanwar gīta* by Nandadāsa wherein Kṛishṇa is compared with a bee sucking honey from the *gopīs*, conceived as flowers.

247. Rāmeśvara, *op.cit.*, vv. 891-94 :

Surasāl bāje tāl nāche bhālavidhu |
śiṅgā gāe druta āe āe Koñch vadhū ||
ākarshaṇ hetu tār man kari dhyān |
jape mantra jubati jibane paḍe ṭān ||
vikal haiyā chhuṭe sakal Koñchinī |
Śiva āila Śiva āila haila mahādhvani ||
dhāila Koñchinī śuni bishāṇ ghoshaṇā |
Mukunda murati nave jena gopāṅganā ||

248. *Ibid.*, vv. 904-05 :

Koñchinī sakal haila kusum udyān |
Śaṅkar bhramar tāe madhu kare pān ||

HOUSEHOLDER

Man, as a social being, has his family and performs the *gārhasthya dharma*. Likewise, the gods, in human form, also play the role of householders. In the literary works mentioned above, the ascetic Śiva, therefore, appears as a householder. He is represented as crazy to marry and approaches Nārada to get a bride for him. Sometimes the god, as the bridegroom, rides on the bull for going to Pārvatī's house. Often he caresses his wife and fondles his children while sometimes he quarrels with his wife. His angry wife leaves for her father's house and comes back only after being entreated by her husband. All this presents a typical picture of Indian household life. The god, it appears, forgets, for the time being, his nomadic and ascetic habits and becomes an ideal Indian husband. In most medieval works of the country, there is reference to Śiva's family life. In Bengal, it becomes apparent that the indigenous elements of Bengal life and culture have supplied flesh and blood to Śiva's Brāhmaṇical skeleton and made him a Bengali through and through. Although he dwells in the Kailāsa mountain, yet it appears as if Kailāsa is situated somewhere in a secluded place of Bengal, where the god lives with his two sons, two daughters and all-enduring wife. He represents, through his wild life and unscrupulous activities, a picture of the social life of medieval Bengal. In this respect, the family life of Śiva far outweighs his divine nature and he has become much more worldly.

The literature of the Śaivite cult of Bengal, consisting chiefly of the *Śivāyanas*, deals with the life and activities of Śiva particularly in relation to his family. Śiva's coming to Himālaya's house as a bridegroom, the description of the marriage party and the feelings and impressions of the members of Pārvatī's house, are the common subject matters of poems

of different parts of India. These interesting features of the life of the god have been well presented by Vidyāpati and Tulasīdāsa, the poets of the *Maṅgala Kāvyas* of Bengal and the authors of the marriage songs of Assam and Orissa. The picture of the god's marriage procession has been drawn in the same way by the various authors. Śiva arrives with his uncouth train of imps and goblins, he himself appears as an ascetic, with matted hair and body smeared with ashes, wearing serpents round his body and head and skulls for his necklace. When the people on the roadside and the members of the wedding party look at this strange appearance of the bridegroom they are struck with awe and terror. And, Menakā, Pārvatī's mother, feels sad at the sight of such a grim and fearful appearance of her would-be son-in-law.

In the scene of the marriage procession, as described in the *Maṅgala Kāvyas*, the god wears only a tiger-skin tied up at the waist by Vāsuki, the serpent ; his whole body is smeared with ash ; he has matted locks, rides his old bull, Nandī, and the ghosts and friends are his companions. The bridegroom's party comes with terrible noise. The god is sometimes ridiculed by men and women for his ugly appearance. Bhāratachandra's description is all the more interesting when he hints at the great difference in age between the bridegroom and his bride. The maids of the bride's party, in his *Annadāmaṅgala*, see the contrast—the bridegroom, an old man doting with age and the bride, a lovely girl just stepping into youth. When they openly express their feeling the bridegroom becomes extremely sad. The maids, however, do not stop and speak with spirit. They say that while Umā's hair is like a fly-whisk, the old fellow's hairs look like copper-wires ; while Umā's face is like the full moon, the old man has beards like raw jute.[249] Bhārata-

249. Bhāratachandra, *op.cit.*, p. 58 :
Umār keś chāmarchhaṭā
tāmār śalā buḍār jaṭā
tāy beḍiyā phoṅphāy phaṇi dekhe āse jvar lo /

chandra's sketch of the old Śiva sustaining a rebuff from his young wife is humorous and interesting. The god, in an inauspicious moment, remarks that it is due to the luck of a wife that the husband becomes rich or poor and gets snub by Pārvatī. Or, it may be that the attitude of the poet, a devotee of the Devī, is to undermine the Śaiva cult of Bengal by such remarks.

The description of Śiva's dressing up as a bridegroom, as narrated by Bhāratachandra in his work, deserves special mention because it reminds us of the folktales current in different parts of the country like the tiger going to marry under the guidance of the jackal, etc. Nārada plays the role of the jackal who advises his uncle, Śiva, as to what dress the latter should wear as a bridegroom. Nārada knows well that the attire which he recommends to Śiva is not at all suitable for a bridegroom. Even then, with an idea of making the god an object of ridicule, he advises his uncle to put on the dress. He says that the god should not tie up any crown on his matted hair because the serpent, if coiled round his hairs, will evidently give a better look. And, he should wear a garland of skulls in place of a necklace of pearls because the bride's mother will be more attracted by the former. Śiva is quite ignorant of social habits and manners and readily acts according to the guidance of Nārada.[250]

In this way, Bhāratachandra's Nārada is prone to make Śiva an object of fun in the bride's house. He further advises

Umār mukh chā̃der chū̃ḍā
buḍār dā̃ḍi śaner nuḍā
chhārkapale dekhe pā̃y ḍar lo ||

250. *Op.cit.*, p. 53 :
jaṭā juṭe chū̃ḍā
sā̃pe bā̃ndha khuḍā
makuṭe ki dibe śobhā |
ki kā̃j mukutā̃y
hā̃ḍer mālā̃y
kanyār mā habe lobhā ||

the god to rub his body with ash. Instead of mounting a chariot drawn by elephant and horses the god is instructed to ride on his bull and lastly the mischievous sage induces him to take a large quantity of *dhatūrā* mixed with *siddhi*, because the latter, as a bridegroom, will have to remain on fast on the day of marriage.[251] From all this, it seems that Nārada does not want that his uncle should change his habits and learn the proper manners. Or, it may be that the acceptance of an ascetic garb is only a personal desire of the god who wants to impress upon the man of the world the fact that the ultimate end of a material or worldly life lies in renunciation, *i.e.*, detachment from earthly desires.[252]

In this connection, Śiva's religious instructions, as found in one Kāśmīrī poem, are worthy of note.[253] Here Śiva

251. Bhāratachandra, *op.cit.*, p. 53 :
kāpaḍe ki śobhā
jagamanolobhā
ye śobhā bāgher chhāle ||
ratha hasti ār
ki kāj tomār
ye buḍā balad āchhe |
......adhik kariā
siddhi miśāyā
dhaturā khāite habe |
yāvat vivāha
nā habe nirvvāha
upavās tabe sabe ||

252. Cf. Buddhist and Jaina asceticism.

253. Rājānaka, *Śiva Pariṇaya*, ed. G. A. Grierson, vv. 1349-1355 :
Sazjan ban man kar Kailāsay vasitiya-manz banavāsay roz......
Sajjanaḥ bhava manah kuru Kailāsatmakaṁ janapadaprāya-madhya vanavāsīva ātishṭha
Śrī-Kṛishṇa-mahārājan khyūlu rāsay gopiya śurāḥ sāsay hyath |
*bāl-brahmachāriya toti nāva drāsay...*Śrī-*Kṛishṇa-mahārājena kṛīḍitā rāsalīlā gopīnāṁ shoraśa sahasrāṁ sahakṛitvā | kumāra brahmacharye veti tathapi nāma khyātibhutaṁ tasya.....* (Skt.).

recommends inward asceticism while living outwardly a worldly life. He says that even living in a society one should lead the life of a hermit; Lord Kṛishṇa plays his amours with the *gopīs*, but still remains a firm celibate.

This duality in Śiva's character is worth-noticing; in him, both the *gṛihī* (householder) and *tyāgī* (renouncer, ascetic) are mingled. It may be that by presenting Śiva in these double roles, the poets have hinted at the contrast of a human life, or their object was only to ridicule the god by making him wear the ascetic garb at the time of marriage. It may also be that the poets intended to remind us of the inner aspect of life—a complete abondonment of worldly attachment which is the essence of Indian philosophy.

In the *Chaṇḍīmaṅgala* of Mukundarāma also, Śiva goes to marry wearing the robe of an ascetic, but, here he takes the dress of his own accord and not under the advice of Nārada.[254] The ascetic spirit in Śiva before going to marry has also been expressed, in Rāmeśvara's *Śivāyana*, by the seven sages who advise Himālaya to give his daughter in marriage with the great lord without any hesitation.[255] The sages tell Himālaya that he is, of course, a householder; but, for Śiva, who is the supreme Being, there is no social obligation. Śiva is far beyond greed, avarice and pride; he does not care for any dress, nor has he any relationship with anybody. These descriptions lead us to think as to why should the ascetic Śiva marry, what is his need of marriage. It is indeed difficult to answer to these questions. As has

254. Mukundarāma, *op.cit.*, pt. I, p. 93.

255. Rāmeśvara, *op.cit.*, *Saptarshigaṇer-upadeśa*, pp. 106-07 :

tomār gṛihastha dharma
Śaṅkar param brahma
ki vā kāj tār lokāchāre /
nāi moha lobh mad
bhadrābhadra parichhad
kuṭumbitā ki tār saṁsāre //

already been pointed out, the situation was perhaps created by the poets only to ridicule the god, because these poets belonged to non-Śiva sects. But, then why should Śaivite poets like Rāmeśvara and Vidyāpati present the god in a like manner. Is it not all the more strange that Pārvatī appears to be restive to marry the ascetic god and that too by performing austerities? The reply to all these queries may be found in the general statement that inscrutabte are the ways of god.

The same note of asceticism has not lost sight of Vidyāpati when he refers to the god's marriage procession. Besides the habit of wearing the dress of an ascetic, Śiva, according to the poet, is ignorant of social formalities. Thus, as soon as he reaches the bride's house, he is unnerved and rubs off the *ālpanā* (auspicious drawings on the floor and walls). He also breaks the *maṅgala ghaṭ* (auspicious jar) and puts everyone in an embarrasing situation. In the concluding lines of the poem, the poet reminds us not to be critical of any act of the god, who is the lord of the three worlds. Śiva, as a crazy mendicant, comes to marry. His mount, Nandī, makes a peculiar sound and his garland also makes a noise as the skulls hit one another. The god holding the kettle-drum in hand drinks *siddhi* to his heart's content. But, the poet does not intend to deny the godhood of Śiva, and, therefore, he requests everyone not to be critical of the god.[256] The same idea of Siva's ascetic association is

256. Mathur, J. K., *Vidyāpati kī padāvalī* (Hindi), p. 426, No. 244 :

yahi vidhi byāhan āyo ehan bāur yogī /
ṭapar ṭapar kar basaha āyala,
khaṭar khaṭar run̄ḍamāla //
bhakar bhakar Śiva bhāṅg bhakasathi
ḍamaru lela kar taya //
āipan men̄ṭala purahara phoḍala
bār kimi chanmukha dīpa //

expressed in another poem wherein the spirits and goblins are seen to accompany the god, as a bridegroom, on whose head the *gaṅgā* is seen to flow. The poet says that everyone should be happy to see this sight of the all-forgetful god.[257] It is, however, interesting to note in one song of Vidyāpati that Pārvatī herself repents and complains to her mother about the choice of a person like Śiva as her husband. She says that she would not live with an old husband. She curses the Almighty for not paying heed to her request and says that her father has not thought for her and Nārada has played false by choosing such a husband for her.[258]

Tulasīdasa also, in his *Pārvatīmaṅgala* does not forget to describe the ascetic dress of the god at the time of marriage. In this work, Śiva is first seen to speak to Pārvatī, for ascertaining the truth of the latter's devotion, in disguise about his own habits and manners.[259] This Śiva dissuades Pārvatī from accepting, as her husband, a person who comes in an aseetic's robe because, by seeing the bridegroom in such a strange costume, the people of the bride's house, including the bride herself, will be put to shame. He says that there is not a single great virtue in Śaṅkara ; on the contrary, he is full of vices. He adorns himself with human skulls, wears elephant's skin, and is bedecked with poisonous snakes. He

dhiyale bhanāini maṇḍapa baisali
gābie janu sakhī gīt //
bhana Vidyāpati sunu e bhanāini
īthika tribhuvana īśa //

257. *Ibid.*, No. 235 :
bhūt piśāch anek dal sājala sir son̄ bahi gela gaṅgā /
bhanai Vidyāpati sun re bhanaini thikai digambar aṅga //

258. *Ibid.*, No. 235 :
ham nahi āj rahaba yahi ān̄gan jo buḍha hoeta jamāi /
ek to bairi bhela vidhi vidhātā dosre dhiāabāp //
tesre bairi bhela Nārada bāyan jāi buḍha ānala jāmāi, ge māi //

259. We have already seen that this story is dealt with in the Purāṇas and other medieval works.

then says to Pārvatī that for a charming and beautiful woman like her, the very dress of Śaṅkara is repulsive. He goes on saying that Pārvatī will only repent when that mendicant god comes with the bridal party consisting of ghosts and goblins. Everyone will take the members of the party to be Yama's soldiers and will flee away. Not only this, at the time of tying the marriage garments of the bridegroom and the bride into a knot (Beng. colloq. *gā̃ṇṭchhaḍā*), the bride's companions cannot help laughing when they find the elephant-skin of the bridegroom tied with the bride's silk garment. And, they will perhaps cut jokes at this unequal union resembling the mixture of nature of nectar and poison.[260]

The bridal party of Śiva receives the poet's attention. All gods assembled on the Kailāsa and began to decorate the vehicles. Auspicious signs were visible all around. The party was arranged in different rows and accompanied the bridegroom. The members of the party, the goblins and spirits, distinguished themselves by means of their respective banners like those of pigs, buffaloes, dogs, asses, etc., and started making loud noise in joy. All began to dance in exhiliration and the whole atmosphere was festive. The companions sang in praise of the lord and the goats, owls and wolves also began to make jubilant noise. At this time, all the gods with Vishṇu, the consort of Lakshmī, and Indra, the king of the gods, arrived and felt happy to see Śiva

260. Tulasīdāsa, *Pārvatīmaṅgala* (Hindi), G. P., Gorakhpur, vv. 53-58 :

> *ekan Harahin̄ na bara gun koṭika dushaṇ /*
> *nara kapāla gaja khāla vyāla bisha bhushaṇ //*
> *kahān̄ rāura gun sīl sarūp suhāvan /*
> *kahān̄ amaṅgal beshu bisehu bhayāvan //*
> *pachhitava bhūt piśāch pret janeta ai hain̄ sāji kai /*
> *jam dhār saris nihāri sab nāri chalihahin̄ bhaji kai //*
> *gaj ajin divya dukūl jorat sakhī han̄si mukh mori kai /*
> *kon pragaṭ kon hiā kahihin̄ milvata amiya mahur ghori kai //*

along with Brahmā who would act as the priest of the ceremony.[261]

The poet's description of the entry of the marriage party into the place where the bride lives and of the reception given there to the party provokes laughter. When it reaches the neighbourhood of Himālaya's house, Śiva's attendants use the shells of tortoise as drums and take various drinks from cups made of human skulls. Seeing this, Vishṇu is amused and says that the party is really suitable for a bridegroom like Śiva. On hearing this, Śiva laughs within himself and does not pay any importance to Vishṇu's humours.[262] But, as Himālaya's men proceed to receive the party, they are utterly disappointed and are even afraid to witness the sight. The elephants and horses do not move forward or step back. The younger folk, who assembled there, run back for shelter knocking and crying at every door, 'the imps and goblins and fierce ghosts are the members of the marriage party and a mad bridegroom rides on a bull.' Gradually, the uncouth entry of the bridal party becomes the common topic of discussion at every place—in the market, in the streets and in the houses. Menakā, the bride's mother, on hearing the report, becomes sad and curses Nārada for arranging for such a marriage.

From the above references to the marriage procession of Śiva we see that both Tulasīdāsa and Vidyāpati have described the peculiar dress of the bridegroom in the same way.

261. *Ibid.*, vv. 93-94 :

nāchoha nānā raṅg taraṅg baḍhavahiñ |
aj uluk vṛik nād gīt gān gāvahiñ ||
Ramānāth Surnāth sāth sab sur gan |
āye jahau bidhi Śambhu dekhi harashe man ||

262. *Ibid.*, vv. 99-100 :

kamaṭha khapara maḍhi khāl nisān bajāvahiñ |
nara kapāl jal bhari-bhari piahiñ piāahiñ ||
bar anuharat barāt banī Hari hañsi kahā |
suni hiyā hañsat Mahes keli kautuk mahā ||

Śiva of both the poets has spirits and goblins as his companions and his dress and habits are not congenial to an ordinary bridegroom. But, it appears that Tulasīdāsa, at least in this particular work, is more rigid than Vidyāpati in his treatment of the god. It may be that Tulasī, being a Vaishṇavite poet, is more critical of Śiva than Vidyāpati, who was really a worshipper of Śiva. With a spirit of ridiculing the god Tulasī divides the members of the bridegroom's party into different groups, each believing in an animistic cult represented by a particular symbol of animal. Moreover, so far as the arrival of the procession is concerned, Tulasīdāsa speaks nowhere a word in praise of the god. On the contrary, although Vidyāpati presents the curious sight of the marriage party proceeding with an eccentric bridegroom wearing an ascetic's robe, yet, in the concluding lines of every poem concerned with the subject, he feels for and sympathizes with the god and says that nobody should be sorry to see the the bridegroom in such a plight because he is the lord of the three worlds and Pārvatī herself should be happy to marry such a person, and to get, indeed, a suitable husband (*uchit bar pāola*).

In Tulasī, however, we do not find any attachment for Śiva. He was a staunch devotee of Rāma and according to him, the only reliance, strength, hope and faith lie in Rāma and, therefore, he looks at him in the same way as a swallow looks towards the cloud.[263]

As we see, the bridegroom's approach in an ascetic garb alongwith his hideous companions, the curiosity of the men and women of the bride's house to watch the procession and their subsequent fear and despair, Menakā's remorse and her cursing of Nārada, Śiva's changing appearance etc. are the topics narrated in almost all works beginning from

263. Tulasīdāsa, *Dohāvalī* (Hindi), p. 81 :
ek bharoso ek bal ek ās visvās |
ek Rām ghanaśyām hit chātak Tulasīdās ||

the Purāṇas. In the *Maṅgala Kāvyas*, we see that Menakā is embarrassed to find such a bridegroom for her beautiful daughter. The remarks made by her are practically the same as in these works. A Bengali folk-song is interesting to note in this connection. It mentions, besides the usual details, some special traits of the bridegroom. The bridegroom has grey beard and hair, he is under intoxication and his two eyes are sleepy. He is more than hundred years old; he stoops when he walks and that is why he rides on a bull; his hands and feet are thin and he has a chronic enlargement of his spleen. On seeng such a bridegroom it is but natural that everyone would feel sorry.[264] Here, Śiva is presented as a sick old man whose prototype can sometimes be found in an underfed peasant of an unhealthy village of Bengal. We do not, however, see a similar portrait of the god in any other work.

Another unique presentation of the god is noticed in the Kāśmirī poem, already referred to before ; Śiva reaches the bride's house and everyone feels sad at the selection of such a poor husband for Umā. When the women-folk complain that the bride has not been given any gold ornament, Śiva creates gold which is showered like snow upon the bride. People rejoice at the sight and sing in praise of the god. The showering of gold continues and there is gold everywhere. The roofs of the houses, the trees and the hills, the roads and the fields are covered with gold. At this stage, people lament the inconvenience of this overflow of gold and pray to Indra

264. See *Śiva-vivāha*, a song composed by a Muslim named Ālam, BSPP, 1314, No. 2, pp. 126-27 :

tār pākā dāḍī chul nisāte ākul,
ḍhulu ḍhulu kare dui nayan......
tār bayes hayechhe śateker upar,
(O) *heñṭe jete ḍhule paḍe vṛishopare ārohaṇ kare* /
tār hasta pada kshīṇa śarīr jīrṇa,
jena gulum hayechhe udare, jāmāi dekhe
prāṇ kāñde bhāre //

to find a way out. Indra asks them to pray to Śiva to stop the fall. Even the earth-goddess implores Śiva to make an end of this. The gods say to Śiva that they have now enough gold, more than their requirement. The people of the earth also feel tired of gold. When Śiva asks them the reason of their fear, the gods and men reply that the earth, thus covered with gold, will not produce crops. Besides, there will no longer be distinction of rich and poor. On hearing this, Śiva laughs within himself and directs the wind-god to collect the gold in a heap and to blow it away. This is done and the earth is restored to its former condition.[265] Here the god appears as a teacher to mankind showing that the lust for gold only invites chaos and confusion. Verily the god has expressed his own simplicity through this action.

During the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, a group of Bengali Kaviwālās or Kaviyāls composed songs on Śiva, Kṛishṇa and the Devī, the subject matter of which was based mainly on the Epics, the *Purāṇas* and the *Maṅgala Kāvyas*.[266] In their compositions, known as *Kavigān*, we get references to the beggar and the household aspects of Śiva. Rāmjī Dās, an author of this group, has given a vivid description of the family life of Śiva and Pārvatī. In his song *Haragaurīr-gharkarnā*, Śiva says to his nephew Bhīma that he has no money in exchange for which he could buy the bangles of shell for his wife. He has only a tiger-skin to wrap his body and a torn piece of cloth to wear. And, by begging he somehow feeds his two sons.[267] In the conclu-

265. Rājānak, *op.cit.*, vv. 1254-265.

266. The first such poet, named Goñjlā Guiñ, was mentioned by Īśvara Gupta in his *Saṁvād Prabhākara*, 1261 B.S., p. 21.

267. *Prāchīn Kaviwālār gān*, ed. Praphulla Chandra Pal, pp. 63-64 :

āmi kāṅgāl trilochan,(a) *kothā pāba dhan,*
ki die sāñkhā(b) *dibare ekhan,*
(*āmār*) *sambhābanā chheṇḍā tenā*
bāgher chhālā pari gāy /

ding lines of the same song, the god then openly declares that he connot do anything even if Pārvatī is angry for not receiving the bangles and leaves for her father's house.[268]

Another Kaviwālā, Hāru Ṭhākur, in his song *Āgamanī* (No. 8) says that Menakā is aggrieved to think that her daughter is living in distress in the house of Śiva and longs to see her. When Umā comes back to her father's house after a few days Menakā says that she always remains worried about her daughter after giving her to a poor man. She is sorry to know that her son-in-law lives on begging and roams about in crematoriums. On seeing her daughter, she first of all enquires as to how the former had passed her days for such a long time in the beggar's house. Rām Basu, a famous poet of this group, in his song *Āgamanī* (No. 6) says that Menakā is impatient to hear from Umā about her life in her husband's house. Menakā asks her daughter as to how the latter could

āmār jata sambhābanā sakal jāna tumi
je rūpete Kārttik Gaṇeś pālan kari āmi
bhikshā kare deśāntare beḍāi nirabadhi ||

[(a) Śiva has three eyes which shine like three suns. It is said that the Sun, Moon and Fire are his three eyes. His third eye, according to one version, he owes to the playful act of Umā. One day in jest she suddenly placed her hands over his eyes, whereupon the world was plunged into darkness, men trembled with fear, and all life seemed to be extinct, so that, to save the world, a third eye shone forth on the god's forehead. See Keith, *Mythology of All Races*, Vol. VI, pp. 110-13. For other versions of the story, see below.

(b) It means bangles made of conch-shell. The conch-shell bangle and vermillion are the special marks of married women in Bengal. Besides Bengal, except Bihar, Orissa and South India bangle is not used by women elsewhere in India. We have found bangles of shell from amidst the ruins of Mohenjo-daro. A conch-shell was an auspicious symbol in ancient India.]

268. *Ibid.*, 11.68-70 :

āmi to ekā, kathā pāba ṭākā,
tor māmī āmār kāchhe pābe nā sāṅkhā |
sāṅkhār tare ushmā kare bāpar bāḍi chale jāy ||

stay at the place of the beggar Hara, who moves from door to door. She says that her heart aches on hearing her son-in-law's misery.

The same poet in another place, *Āgamanī* (No. 4), says that Śiva's financial position is gradually changed. He is now a wealthy person and has given up his roaming habits.[269] The god's time is now changed, everybody despised him a mad man at the time of his marriage, now that mad man is in possession of enormous wealth having Kuvera as his store-keeper. He no longer moves about with his wife in crematorium, on the contrary, he spends his days happily in pleasure gardens.

The same picture of a wealthy Śiva has been drawn by Udayachānd, another poet of this group. In this song, Menakā wants to ascertain from her daughter if whatever she has heard from Nārada about Śiva is correct. She has heard that Śiva is now the king of Kailāsa with Pārvatī as the queen. Nārada has said to her that Śiva has now a good fortune and has amassed a huge wealth and that Lakshmī follows his orders, Vishṇu serves as his door-keeper and Kuvera is in charge of his store. He has now no wants. People say that he always wears necklaces made of jewels and there is no sign of poverty in his house. He does not go out for alms and has not taken his usual satchel for begging. He no longer smears his body with ash. Besides, as Annapūrṇā lives in his house there is no want of food in Kailāsa. And, a mansion, instead of a crematorium, is now his abode.[270] Udaychānd's description shows that the god is no longer a nomadic half-crazy mendicant, in which form he is generally represented,

269. *Ibid.*, p. 64 :
Śiver se din ār ekhan nāi /
jāre pāgal pāgal bale, bibāher kāle sakale dile dhikkār /
ekhan sei pāgaler sab atul baibhab, Kuver bhāṇḍār tār /
ekhan śmaśāne maśāne beḍāy nāka meye ānanda kānane juḍābār ṭhān̄i /

270. *Ibid.*, pp. 68-71.

but a rich sophisticated person enjoying all sorts of worldly pleasures. When Nārada's information about Śiva was confirmed by Pārvatī Menakā heaves a sigh of relief and feels happy. In this connection, it is interesting to note that we do not get any other reference to such a change in the position of Śiva in any other work.

When Śiva, in his peculiar dress, arrives at the *chhādnā-talā*, where Hindu marriage rites are performed, he is represented as a stupid bridegroom and an object of ridicule. Subjects like the gestures made by the god himself, the mischief done by the sage Nārada and other gods and the precarious position of the bride's mother have been narrated in the Śaiva works in a manner which generally provokes laughter. The bride's mother, on the arrival of the marriage party, proceeds to receive the bridegroom with the usual rites, but steps back at the hissing sound of the snake which coils round his matted hair and neck. In the meanwhile, Vishṇu, out of fun, lets loose his mount Garuḍa, which is inimical to snakes. Vāsuki, the snake king, encircling the tiger-skin, the only garment worn by Śiva, flees away at the sight of Garuḍa. In consequence, Śiva's garment drops down and he becomes stark naked. The women folk including Menakā, present there, are embarrassed and put off the lights. But the light coming out from the god's third eye continues to shine and even in darkness the nude figure of the god remains visible.[271]

One may wonder as to why the poets have described the scene in such a way and stamped vulgarity on the god. The strange appearance and behaviour of the god may be understood as *līlā*. Of course, this description may remind us of the all-forgetfulness of the god and of his ignorance of human behaviour. We can see another example of his *līlā* when the god changes his uncouth appearance into a pleasant one,

271. See Bhāratachandra, *op.cit.*, pp. 61, 83.

at Umā's request.[272] The subject of changing the appearance is dealt with not only in the *Maṅgala Kāvyas* but also in the folk-songs. In a folk-song of Bihar when Umā requests Śiva to change his appearance, Śiva agrees, bathes in the Ganges and takes a youthful form.[273] Śiva is also happy to see him-

72. Kavichandra, *op.cit.*, pp. 133-35 :

Trailokyamohan rūp prabhu tumi dhara /
navīn yauvan haiyā āmā bibhā kara //
īshat hāsiyā Hara Umār iṅgite /
Madan nindiyā mūrti dharila tarite //

273. *JRAS*, 1884, pp. 230, 232 :

Kalasā ke oṭe boleli Gaurā dei Śiva jī sen̄ araj hamāre re /
Gaṅgavā nahāi Śiva bhabhuti utāri naihar log patiyasu re //

(Song No. 7)

Gan̄gavā nahāle Śiva bhabhuti utārale āṭho aṅga chānan chaḍhāi re /
kahavā gaili mor sāsu Madāgini ab rūp dekhasu hamār re //

(Song No. 9)

In Tulasīdāsa's work also we get reference to the change of appearance by Śiva. Here the god changes not only his own appearance but makes all his attendants charming.

The poet says that on seeing that there is a constant humming among those present, Śiva transforms himself to a young man, much more handsome and charming than Kāmadeva. His tiger-skin is changed into blue garment and the snakes take the shape of ornaments. At that time, it seems as if the brilliant sun has revealed itself on his body. The appearance of Śiva's attendants also become pleasant. They enchant even Kāmadeva with their appearance. With this change, everyone becomes happy and comes out to catch a glimpse of this pleasant sight. It seems, at the moment, as if Śiva is the moon of the autumnal night and his attendants are the stars. See Tulasīdāsa, *op.cit.*, p. 32 :

lakhi laukik gati Śambhu jāni baḍa sohar /
bhaye sundar sat koṭi manoj manohar //
nīl nichal chhāl bhai phaṇi maṇi bhushaṇ /
rom-rom par udit rūpamay pūshaṇ //
gaṇ bhaye maṅgal vesh Madan manomohaṇ /
sunat chale hiyan̄ harashi nāri nara johan //
Śambhu sarod rākes nakhat gaṇ sur gaṇ /
janu chakar chahun̄ or virājahin̄ pur jan //

self fresh and clean. And he calls his mother-in-law to see his appearance.

In relation to Śiva's marriage, another Bihari folk-song is worthy of note inasmuch as it throws a very interesting side-light on a peculiar trait of the god. This song refers to Śiva's second marriage not to be found in any other Śaiva work. Here, Śiva goes for trade to the East and comes back home after twelve years. The god is here presented as an ordinary Bihari youth who comes out to the land to the east of Bihar to do some business and forgets everything about his home. He marries for the second time and goes back home after a long interval. The song says that four months are passing away since Mahādeva has left for the East to trade. Umā is impatient ; she sits on a chair and watches the way by which her husband is expected to come back. Mahādeva returns after twelve years, stands at the gateway and calls out Gaurī who receives him warmly and makes inquiries about his well-being. The god feels shy to disclose that he has married for the second time. On hearing this, Pārvatī is not sad ; she only wants to know whether the woman is more beautiful than herself and whether she has proved herself to be a devoted wife. Śiva says that she is good in all respects but adds that his second marriage was destined and therefore he has married for the second time.[274] Here Pārvatī appears to be considerate but Śiva nervous.

274. *JRAS, op.cit.*, pp. 234-36.

Mahādeva chalale bā purabi bānijiyā bitelā mahinvan̄ chāri re /
machia baisi Gaurā joheli baṭiā kab āihen̄ tapasi hamāra re //
bāraha baris par lauṭe Mahādeva bhaile duarvā par ṭhāḍha re /
sūtal bāḍu ke jāgala Gaurā dei kholahū bajar kevāḍa re //
paniā piyahu tun̄ha baisa Mahādeva kaha na naihara kusalata re /
kūlha kusala more bāḍe he Gaurā dei kusala naihara tohāra re //
ek kusala mor nāhi he Gaurā dei kailīn̄ ho dusara biyaha re /
kailīn̄ biyahe Śiva baḍa nika kailīṅ je aṅga subhāva batava re /
kaisan hathavā kaisan gauḍvā kaisan sahaj snbhāva re //

Another very amusing scene is presented in Tulasīdāsa's *Pārvatīmaṅgala* and in a village song of Bihar. In the former work Śiva in the guise of a mendicant tries to dissuade Pārvatī from marrying an old person. The god says that the bridegroom has the habit of riding on a bull and that the people would laugh at her when she would have to ride on a bull with her half-crazy husband.[275] In the Bihar folk songs also, Pārvatī is seen to ride on a bull with her husband. The above-mentioned song presents a typical sight. Śiva and Pārvatī come riding on a bull. Their son, Gaṇeśa comes to meet them on the way with a gift in his hand. Śiva has a flag in his hand and a snake on his neck. With yellow matted hair fastened in a knot Śiva appears to be free to chat with Pārvatī putting his hand on her shoulder.[276] These descriptions may lead us to think that the god and his consort

tihara niara bāḍe goḍavan hathavan kaisan aṅga subhāva re /
oṭhavā ta bāḍe Gaurā kataral panavā kaisan bhoñr lobhai re //
kiā Gaurā āñhara kiā Gaurā laṅgara nāhi Gaurā kokhiā behūna re /
bidhi ke likhala Gaurā aur nāhiñ meṭa re bhābī kaila dūsara biyaha re //
See Shakespeare, *Antony and Cleopatra* (ed. M. Percival), Act III, Sc. III, ll. 8-26, and Dryden, *All for Love* (ed. A. Sale), Act III, Sc. I, ll. 400-18, Act V, Sc.I, ll. 412-15.

275. *Op.cit.*, v. 57 :
tumahi sahit asvār basaha jab haihahiñ /
nirakhi nagar nar nāri vihañsi mukh goihahiñ //

276. *Calcutta Review*, 1884, pp. 271-84 :
Mahādeva aur Gauryā bail pe hoke sawār
Gaṇpat kar le nazar ko ā dekhe didār /
dhvajā hāth aur nāg gale meñ,
pitā yūrā hai bāñdhe
Pārvatī se bāt kare,
pare hāth dhare us ke kāñdhe //

[In this connection, see pl. No. VIII reproduced from a calendar collected by the writer from a street corner of Calcutta, which depicts Śiva and Pārvatī riding together on a bull. From the expression of the figures it seems as if they are on a happy ride enjoying a sort of ecstatic joy in each others' company.]

are not probably aware of the decorum and propriety of a married life. But, it is possible that in the areas where the songs were composed or Tulasīdāsa wrote his work nobody objects if a husband and a wife are found together riding openly on a bull or any other mount. Generally, it is not pleasing to find a husband and a wife together, belonging to the rural areas, on a bull or a horse.[277] From this aspect we may explain that this attitude is only one of the *līlās* of the god. A similar idea is presented in another song wherein the deities are found engaged in straining *bhāṅg* together. There the god strains the *bhāṅg*, Pārvatī holds the straining cloth and Gaṇeśa sits and looks on.[278]

The idea of Śiva and Pārvatī riding together on a bull is well represented in the carvings of many temple niches of Southern India specially in miniature panels and in the *maṇḍapa* in the Airāvateśvara temple of Dārāsuram. The usual motif of the panels depicting stories of Śaiva saints presents Śiva and Pārvatī riding together on the bull to grant *darśana* to their devotees.[279] The most interesting illustrations in this group are (a) a saint, with scanty cloth upto loin, shown carrying a rod in his hand and standing before a scale, in which on one side there are two figures of a man and woman, and on the other, Śiva and Pārvatī on a bull granting them *darśana*;[280] (b) the story called in the inscription *Pugalcholanār* : the saintly Chola king was filled with sorrow at the sight of the head of a devotee of Śiva in the midst of the heads piled in front of him by the victorious commander. He wanted to

277. Although in cities of modern days riding together has become a fashion of life.

278. *Ibid.*, p. 273 :

jaṭā jūṭa se gaṅgā bahti
būṭī chhāne Śaṅkar hai /
Pārvatī ne sāfī pakrī
Gaṇpat baiṭhe dekhat hai //

279. Sastri, K. A. N., *The Colas*, Vol. II (2nd ed.), p. 93.

280. Sivaramamurti, C., *The Frescoes of the Colas*, p. 24.

expiate the sin and while he took the enemy's head in his hand entered the fire Śiva and Pārvatī appeared there riding on the bull to bless him ;[281] and (c) the legend of Nanda, the great saint : Nanda bathed in the tank and entered the fire to have access into the portals of the Chidambaram temple and Śiva and Pārvatī on bull granted *darśana*. This is called *Tirumālai-povārkodai*.[282]

With reference to these illustrations we may note that while in these examples Śiva and Pārvatī appear in the particular posture only as deities to favour their devotees, in the songs and in the work of Tulasī they ride on the bull like ordinary man and woman.

In Assamese literature also, the peculiar feature of Śiva as a bridegroom is not absent. In the marriage song called *Hara-Gaurīr biā*, the bridegroom Śiva has been presented in such a way that the god seems to belong to an uncivilised section of the people with unclean habits. He has been presented as one who has not washed his body for a long time and smells very badly. Śiva comes to Kailāsa riding on his mount, the bull. Twelve years have passed since he has not washed his body and as a result, his whole body is stinking.[283] As a matter of fact, people residing in the hilly region do not generally have the habit of either taking bath or washing their bodies regularly and Śiva, here, is presented in a like manner. There is another interesting point in this song. Lakshmī and Sarasvatī are seen coming to the marriage place with ornaments as presentations. It is all the more interesting to note that both these goddesses, as the wives of the other two gods of the triad, Vishṇu and Brahmā, have come to the wedding

281. Sivaramamurti, C., *The Airāvateśvara Temple at Dārāsuram*, p. 13.

282. *Ibid.*, p. 21.

283. Bandyopadhyay, S. M., *Asamiyā Sāhitya*, p. 7 :
Kailāsare parā Mahādeu āhichhe vṛishabha vāhanata uṭhi /
āji bāro bachhara vāhi gā dhova nāi gandhe prāṇa jāy phuṭi //

of Śiva, the third god of the triad associated with their husbands, with ornaments as presents.[284]

Menakā is much disappointed to see such a bridegroom for her beloved daughter. She, at first, curses Nārada for making the negotiation and then rebukes Himālaya, her own husband. In the *Śivāyana* of Rāmeśvara, Menakā does not hesitate to use even abusive language and does not pay any respect to the god. From her remarks we may forget his divine nature for the time being. From the narration of the incident in this work, it seems as if the marriage has been fixed up through pursuasion and the mother of the young bride cannot resist from scolding everyone who is responsible for the arrangement. Menakā says that her husband must be blind, otherwise how could he bring such a bridegroom for his daughter ? She goes further to say that such a deranged, old and naked bridegroom should be kicked out at once and she prefers to keep her daughter a spinster at her house.[285] But, gradually, the position is changed. Śiva takes the appearance of a charming youth ; everyone becomes contented, and the marriage ends happily. These descriptions may suggest that Pārvatī's prospective husband has a non-Aryan origin and is, therefore, not easily acceptable to the cultured family of his wife. He is readily refused by everyone of the bride's family so long as the god sticks to the uncouth appearance of a person of low origin. But, as soon as he turns himself into a handsome and respectable youth, he is welcomed

284. *Ibid.*, p. 10 :
Lakshmī Sarasvatī dui bhanī āhichhe Harare alaṅkār laye /

285. Rāmeśvara, *op.cit.*, p. 81 :
bhātār chakshu māthā khāyyā
var ānyāchhen diben māyya
chhi chhi chhi ki baliba tāre /
khepā buḍā digambar
dhākkā māryā bāhir kar
āibaḍa mor jhi thākuk mor ghare //

by everyone of Pārvatī's house.[286] In this connection, we may allude to the *Dakshayajña* story. There also the god is denied a position at the outset and it is only after a hard fight that he is able to assert himself.[287] Śiva, on that occasion, appears as fearful. But, in the marriage scene, as depicted in the above-mentioned work, he is mild. Here the god changes his appearance on being entreated by his devotees and makes himself worthy of the occasion. Notwithstanding all this, it may be that the descriptions are simply the outcome of imagination of the poets whose ultimate end of writing out the work is to narrate the ways (*līlā*) of the god. The changing of appearance is, so to say, a miraculous feat and a reference to this incident is to be found in almost all the Śaivite works mentioned above.

In Oriya literature also, we get a number of references to Śiva's marriage. Bachhadāsa (Batsadāsa) wrote a poem consisting of 34 verses, every four lines of which begin with a particular letter of the alphabet. This poem is entitled *Kalasāchautisā*. It gives a picture of the marriage scene of the god. The sarcastic remarks about Śiva made by a companion of Pārvatī in the opening lines are worthy of note. She says to Pārvatī that she finds no reason as to why Pārvatī's father has chosen such a bridegroom. When nothing is known about his race, family and lineage how can the old fellow take a seat at the marriage-altar (*kanak-*

286. Pārvatī, the daughter of the mountain, has another name Gaurī. The term *gaur* means fair, it also means white, yellow, clean and pure. Pārvatī's complexion has always been described as fair. It is interesting to note that the Himalayan people like the Nepālese, Bhuṭānese and Sikimese are of Mongoloid origin and they are fair-complexioned. It is possible that Pārvatī having fair complexion and born in a family inhabiting the Himalayan region, belongs to a Mongoloid group (*cf.* Sircar, D. C., *The Śākta Pīṭhas*, App. VI, pp. 100-106).

297. We have said elsewhere that the *Dakshayajña* episode shows Śiva's entry from the non-Aryan to the Aryan world.

bədi) ?[288] She further says that if Pārvatī observed him carefully she will find that he is a very old man and looks like her grandfather. He has no teeth and cannot speak properly and Pārvatī will be frightened by his sight at night. The companion then feels sorry to think that Pārvatī is inviting willfully her misfortune. Bachhadāsa's Pārvatī does not, like Pārvatī of other poets, resent the abuses hurled against her prospective husband. On the contrary, as soon as she hears the abusive remarks she faints. Moreover, that she has an adverse feeling towards Śiva can be noticed from the conversation which she has with her mother. She goes so far to say to her mother that if the latter hands her over to the poor old man of low origin she will not hesitate even to commit suicide.[289] Both the mother and the daughter then approach Himālaya to impress upon the latter that this marriage will bring only ill luck. But, Himālaya argues firmly and convinces his wife that Pārvatī is the most virtuous as otherwise she could not have been so fortunate as to get a husband who is revered by all other gods like Brahmā and Vishṇu. That is to say, the poet, like Vidyāpati and others, has not forgotten the lofty position of the god and feels that he is the most suitable husband for Pārvatī. The marriage takes place and everything ends well. The closing lines of the poem present Śiva as performing certain religious rites for the occasion and in this connection the god appears as a typical bridegroom of the locality where the poem has been composed.

288. *Kalasā-chautisā*, vv. 5-8 :

kahanti kāmini śuna Hemanta dulāṇi |
kahu bare barile tumbhar pitāmaṇi ||
kula mula gotra ādi nahiṅ jāna tār |
kanaka bedire buḍḥa basichī madhyār ||

289. *Ibid.*, vv. 13-14 :

daini kari kahuchhi śuṇa mor |
dāṅte tiriṇ dhāraṇ olgai pāye ||
daridra hīṅ buḍhāku jebe more debu |
dui nayanre mor maraṇ dekhibu ||

In the above lines, we have seen how Śiva has been presented as a peculiar bridegroom in the different works. Now, we shall see how he leads a typical household life after marriage. Like an ordinary Indian householder, he sometimes quarrels with his wife who rebukes him for his inability to maintain the family, while sometimes he spends his days at home happily with his wife and two sons. It is interesting to note, in this connection, that Śiva, as a householder, is seen with his wife, Umā, and two sons, Gaṇeśa and Kārttikeya, and in none of the two works, Lakshmī and Sarasvatī have taken any part in the god's family life.

In the works referred to above, we see that, at the sight of the peculiar appearance of the bridegroom, there was dissatisfaction among the members of the bride's house. But, when the bridegroom changes his appearance by some miraculous feat, everyone is pleased and the marriage ends happily. It will be seen from Mukundarāma's *Chaṇḍīmaṅgala* that the marriage is performed in accordance with Hindu rites and customs. A fine cloth is spread over the bridegroom and the bride so that both of them can cast the auspicious glance (*śubha-dṛishṭi*) at each other in privacy. Pārvatī goes round the bridegroom seven times (*sātpāk*). The bride and the bridegroom exchange garlands (*mālā-badal*). The auspicious sound (*uludhvani*) is made by the women folk at intervals. Brahmā, as the marriage priest (*purohita*) cites *mantras* and Himalāya gives away (*sampradāna*) his daughter. Brahmā ties the ends of the clothes of the bride and the bridegroom (*gāñṭchhaḍā*, love-knot). All the gods witness the ceremony and are happy to see Śiva married.[290] Śiva and Pārvatī are also happy. The scene, as depicted by the poet, represents a typical Hindu marriage in Bengal.

In the following lines of the same work, the happy life of a newly married couple is presented. One day the god realises his wife's desire to have a son when he sees her making

290. Mukundarāma, *op.cit.*, pp. 101-02.

a baby's figure out of the dirt of her own body. The god does not hesitate to give life to the figure and thereby fulfils her wish.[291] That is to say, although the poet tries to present a picture of the household life of an ordinary Indian husband, he cannot forget the inscrutable ways of the god.

In describing the birth of Kārttikeya Mukundarāma says that Śiva and Pārvatī, infatuated with passion, lie on a bed of roses and long to taste the bliss of marriage in each other's company. The description is very much earthly, although the birth of a six-faced son, nurtured by six celestial mothers, may not be so. Again, when the poet describes Śiva's contented life with a wife and two sons he presents us the picture of a happy earthly life. In the following lines the scene is changed. Śiva begins to taste the bitterness of married life. He feeds, with great difficulty, the members of his family by what he gets from begging. One day when he tells his wife that he does not feel like going out and thinks of taking rest, his wife becomes annoyed and says that when there is nothing to eat at home, he should not think of rest.[292] Tragedy looms large on the peaceful family of the god. He decides to leave home. His wife also gets disgusted, curses her own fate and becomes ready to leave for her father's house.[293]

From Rāmeśvara's description of the god's household life, it seems that the poet has tried to draw a picture of a lower middle-class family of Bengal. Kārttikeya and Gaṇeśa are hungry and they cannot be easily pacified by their mother. They want food and wait on the roadside for their father's return. As soon as they see their father coming, they are happy. When the father returns home and puts

291. *Ibid.*, p. 103. See the story of the birth of Gaṇeśa in Gopinātha Rāo, *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, Vol. I, pt. I, pp. 38-45. See also Kennedy, *Hindu Mythology*, pp. 353-54.

292. *Ibid.*, p. 113.

293. *Ibid.*, pp. 118-19.

down his bag, the two sons pounce upon it and eat up whatever was brought in it.[294] The impatience of the boys and the way in which they behave prove that they have been starving. But in spite of the uncivil behaviour of the sons, the god is happy and so is his wife. Pārvatī comes and washes the husband's feet like a devoted wife. The next few lines show that the god is restless for *bhāṅg*. His wife and sons assist him in preparing the narcotic drug.[295] These lines, however, tell the story of a husband who is a typical Indian peasant or belongs to the lower order of the society. Here the poet does not say anything which is characteristic of the god's divinity. The husband takes the drug and is pleased. He then sits down to take his meal. When he sees different types of food prepared by his wife, he praises the latter, like an ordinary husband, by saying that the wife has really a magic hand otherwise such delicious dishes can never be prepared.[296]

In the *Annadāmaṅgala*, Śiva, at first, has a great attachment for his wife. The god, to some extent, appears to be emotional. He requests his wife to remain always good to him and says that she should not be harsh towards him and should never leave him.[297] But gradually, under the pressure of family encumbrances, this mood is turned into displeasure. At this stage, Śiva is presented by the poet as a helpless husband rebuked by his wife all the time. The wife also feels disgusted and says that she cannot endure the sufferings any longer and prefers to leave for her father's house.[298]

But the poet cannot forget the strong feeling which the husband and the wife bear towards each other. And in the following lines, therefore, he makes Pārvatī feel for her

294. Rāmeśvara, *op.cit.*, pp. 100-02.
295. *Ibid.*, pp. 104-05.
296. *Ibid.*, p. 106.
297. Bhāratachandra, *op.cit.*, p. 67.
298. *Ibid.*, p. 74.

husband's miserable plight. She says that her husband labours hard to collect food but as one of the sons (Gaṇeśa) has four hands and the other (Kārttikeya) six mouths, they eat up everything and no food can be saved. Besides, the rat and the peacock, the mounts of the two sons, destroy a great part of the food.[299] At last, the poet, a Śakti worshipper, makes Śiva surrender to the goddess, Annadā and in the *Annapūrṇī-māhātmya* section, both Śiva and Pārvatī are found to sit together and amuse themselves while their sons play in front of them.[300] A happy home of a loving couple is ultimately presented by the poet of the *Annadāmaṅgala*.

Although the household life of the god is not absent in the *Manasāmaṅgala Kāvyas*, the treatment is somewhat different. In Vijayagupta's *Manasāmaṅgala*, Śiva is the husband of Chaṇḍī whom he fears though, at the same time he cannot withstand separation from her. The god also appears as a typical father who is eager to find out a suitable bridegroom for his only daughter (Manasā). With reference to this *Manasāmaṅgala* work another interesting point to note is that the theme centres round Manasā, the mind-born daughter (*Mānas-kanyā*) of the god, and there is hardly any mention of his two sons, Gaṇeśa and Kārttikeya, who, as we have already seen, played an important part in the other works.

In the *Śiver-śok* (Śiva's remorse) section of the above work, Śiva is a helpless old husband who is found crying when his wife faints. Chaṇḍī quarrels with Manasā, who is brought home by Śiva, and when Chaṇḍī beats the serpent-daughter (*Nāgakanyā*) in anger, the latter bites her. As a result, Chaṇḍī loses her sense. On returning home, Śiva finds his wife lying unconscious. Being unnerved, he cries aloud like a child. He is very much aggrieved and says that the creator is unkind to him, as otherwise he would not have lost his wife in old age. This remark is typical of a husband who, in old

299. *Ibid.*, p. 75.
300. *Ibid.*, p. 87.

age, solely depends on his wife. Nārada appears at this moment and advises the god to call Manasā, who is capable of bringing back his wife to life. But Śiva is so much overwhelmed with grief that he takes his wife to be dead, and, in agony, says that, as he has now no attachment, he will leave home and will accept the life of an ascetic. We find that the same feelings overtook the god when he hears from Nandī about the tragic death of Umā at Daksha's sacrifice. On that occasion also, the god decided to roam round the world with his wife's corpse on his shoulder. There Śiva is strong and fierce. Here, in the *Manasāmaṅgala*, he is humble and weak. He is not the same god of the *Daksha-yajña* episode who is determined to avenge his wife's death by destroying the sacrifice. On the contrary, here he prays to Manasā to come and give life back to his wife.[301] It may be that his deep affection for his daughter, who has done the mischief, prevents him to be harsh and cruel.

In Vijayagupta's *Manasāmaṅgala*,[302] Śiva loves both his wife, Chaṇḍī, and his mind-born daughter, Manasā. One day, when he detects that his daughter is a full-grown lady, he, like a typical Indian father, thinks of giving her in marriage without delay. He is very much worried and approaches Nārada and Kāmadeva to find out a suitable husband for her. He intends to settle the marriage as quickly as possible, but, like a responsible father, seeks for a good match for her.[303]

Nārada, with Kāmadeva's help, persuades the sage Jaratkāru, residing at the time on the bank of the Tamasā, to marry Śiva's daughter. They bring the sage to Śiva's house and Śiva is delighted to see that the sage has agreed to accept his daughter as wife. The joy expressed by the god

301. *Bāiś Kavir Manasā Maṅgala*, ed. A. Bhattacharya, pp. 30-32.

302. Published by Rāmacharaṇ Śiroratna and printed by Nanda Kumār Dās.

303. *Ibid.*, p. 32.

on this occasion can verily be compared with that of a human father who feels relieved on the settlement of his daughter's marriage. He runs to his wife and gives her the good news. He asks her to make all necessary arrangements for the marriage. Chaṇḍī reminds Śiva of the latter's financial position and asks her husband if it will be possible for them to entertain all persons desiring to attend the ceremony. At this, Śiva observes that, when Kuvera is there, they should not worry about their expenses. The god then makes all possible arrangements and honours the bridegroom in accordance with Vedic rites. Brahmā acts as the priest and the marriage is performed.[304]

This description presents Śiva as an affectionate and responsible father. But on the following day, an untoward event happens when Jaratkāru decides to leave the bride. Śiva tries to mend the situation, but fails to bring any rapproachment between the newly married couple. Jaratkāru leaves Manasā after granting her a boon that she should give birth to eight sons. In course of time, Manasā becomes the mother of eight sons and Śiva takes all responsibilities of her daughter. Gradually, misunderstanding develops between Manasā and her step-mother, Chaṇḍī, and the two cannot pull on together happily. Chaṇḍī entreats Śiva to allow her to go to her father's house. She goes so far as to say that if Śiva does not permit her to do so, she will not hesitate to set fire to the house and go away. The god consoles and dissuades her from taking such a drastic step. Later, Brahmā points out to the god that the latter can maintain peace at home only if his wife and the daughter live seperately. Śiva agrees to follow Brahmā's suggestion and, in spite of his strong attachment for his daughter, decides to banish her.[305] Here the god appears as a faithful husband, determined to keep peace in the family, although he knows that his daughter will thereby be put to great difficulty.

304. *Manasāmaṅgala*, *Vivāher-udyoga*, pp. 38-39.

305. *Op.cit.*, *Chaṇḍīr-prārthanā*, pp. 48-49.

PEASANT

In the medieval literature, especially of Bengal, Śiva is closely associated with cultivation and the peasant aspect of the god is a very popular subject in Bengal. It will not be out of place to mention that this aspect is generally absent in the Śaivite works of other states. Another interesting point to note is that while as a beggar the nomadic habits of the god can be noticed, as a peasant he is seen to live a settled life. In a sense, the god has now abandoned his wandering habits and has designed to live in a disciplined and peaceful atmosphere. Now he is represented as a cultivator driving the plough, turning up the soil, sowing seeds, weeding fields and returning home with a headload of grass after a day's work. It is possible that the god inherited his connection with vegetation from an early period. Perhaps he imbibed this relation from his Vedic prototype, Rudra. The fierce Rudra was liked by the people for his benign aspects, *e.g.*, healing the maladies and fertilising the soil by rains. He was regarded as the best physician and, in course of time, became the giver of food. In this context, it is interesting to note that Upamanyu, at the time of initiating Kṛishṇa to *liṅga*-worship, asked from Śiva, as a boon, rice and milk in plenty.[306] During the later period, this food-giving capacity of the god has perhaps been reflected in his association with cultivation. From different sources we learn that Śiva was the most favourite god of the aborigines of this country, to some of whom cultivation was the mainstay of their economy. Here we may recall that in origin Śiva was a non-Aryan god and it was only after a long protracted struggle that he succeeded in making his entry in the Aryan pantheon.[307]

306. *Mahābhārata*, 7.218-26.

307. The *Daksha-yajña* episode bears testimony to this struggle (see elsewhere of this book).

Some scholars think that Śiva has imbibed the quality of a cultivator from a god of agriculture and food, who gradually lost his identity in him.[308] Similarly, it has been supposed that the other aspect of a crazy mendicant is perhaps derived from Vedic Rudra.[309] We may, therefore, say that the god has infused within himself the nomadic as also the settled habits of mankind. As we have already seen, Śiva is mentioned with the Indian aborigines like the Śabaras, Kirātas, Nishādas, Kochas, Bhīls and others. Curiously enough, some of these semi-Hinduised tribes were concerned with cultivation. In this connection, we may refer to the view of a set of scholars who opine that the foundations of civilization in this country—its village-life based on agriculture—were laid by the Nishādas or Austric-speaking peoples. These scholars think that cultivation began with the hill-tribes and in the early stage agriculture was carried round the hill-tribes. Although the view is interesting, it cannot be generally accepted, because it is seen that agriculture was the mainstay of the people residing on the plains near the rivers.[310]

308. *JASB*, 1839, p. 255.

309. *Op.cit.*, 1848, p. 155.

310. Chatterji, S. K., *Indo-Aryan and Hindi*, pp. 35, 251-52.

The Austric tribes of India appear to have belonged to more than one group of the Austro-Asiatic section—to the Kol, to the Khāsi, and to the Mon-Khemer groups. They were in the neolithic stage of culture and perhaps in India they learned the use of copper and iron. They brought with them a primitive system of agriculture in which a digging stick (*lag*, *lang*, *ling*—various forms of an old *lak*) was employed to till the hill side. The terms *ling* and *lak* have close affinity with *linga* and *lakula* which stand as symbols of Śiva who, as we know, has association with the mountains. The tribal peoples, inhabiting the mountain regions, used this instrument for tilling the hill-side. The term *lang* may later change into *lāngala* (plough) which may have its root in the term *ling*.

If the above view is accepted, Śiva in his *linga* form is a vegetation god and it is all the more interesting because he is the only god worshipped in this form. It is, therefore, possible that Śiva is a god of cultivation

Whatever may be the area of origin of cultivation, Śiva has an association with it.

Among the tribal peoples, Śiva is worshipped under different names on various occasions specially during the time of harvest. In Jashpur, the Kishān tribe has in every village two or more sacred groves, one of which is sacred to Mahādeo who is specially invoked at the harvest festival.[311] An effigy of man is made and sacrificed by the Gonds to Baradeo who appears to be the same as Mahādeva.[312] On the occasion of Arwa or Kharway, that is, the harvest festival, the Biṅjhear offer a sacrifice to a god who resembles Śiva.[313] Among the Biyārs, two stone-pillars representing Dharti-(Dharitri) Mahādeva are propitiated when harvest is gathered.[314] The Rājasthān Bhīls worship Bābā Deo (Mahādeva), who has his seat at Deogarh Bariya in the Rewa Kantha Agency, at the harvest season.[315] Bīranātha (Mahādeva) is worshipped by the Āhīra as a protector of cattle and fields. Worship is offered in the morning when the cattle are sent to the jungles during the hot weather. Crooke thinks that this cult has been borrowed from the Kols and that Bīranātha, regarded as a protector of cattle and fields, is probably a local form of Mahādeva.[316] The Eravellens worship a deity called Muni, resembling Śiva, who, they believe, protects their cattle and helps them to reap a good

(when *liṅg* refers to a *lāṅgala,* plough) and a god of procreation (when *liṅg* refers to a phallus, genital organ). In fact, the function of both the plough and the phallus is the same.

311. Dalton, *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal*, p. 132.

312. *Ibid.*, p. 259.

313. Risley, *Tribes and Castes of Bengal*, Vol. 1, p. 136.

314. Crooke, *Tribes and Castes of N.W. Provinces & Oudh*, Vol. 2, pp. 136-37.

315. Risley, *op.cit.*, Vol. 2, p. 203.

316. Crooke, *op.cit.*, Vol. 1, p. 63.

harvest.[317] The Bodos inhabiting the north-eastern region of the Himalayas worship the phallic emblem of Śiva near Kamākhyā. The idea behind the emblem as explained by the Bodos is interesting.[318] The Daflas of the Subansiri region, who are usually expert hunters, are great devotees of Gor Bābā. This god, a deified ghost, has become under the title of Goreśvara, a manifestation of Śiva.[319]

Another deity, Kshetrapāla, also a manifestation of Śiva, enjoys immense popularity all over India and is worshipped under different popular names and forms. This god is always associated with the fields. Khetpāla (protector of the fields), Khera (the household mound), Bhūmīyā (the godling of the land or soil), Zamindār (land-owner) are his various vernacular names. Kshetrapāla is sometimes the son of Śiva (Śambhu-tanaya).[320] It is said that, when even the destruction of the demon Dāruka would not satisfy the wrath of Kāli, Śiva, for the welfare of the world, assumed the form of a child, sucked her breast and drank off in this manner her

317. Iyer, *Cochin Tribes and Castes*, p. 23.

Kāli and Muni are worshipped in forests. Offerings are made to them when the tribes plough and sow and reap.

318. This emblem is named as Umei-Ludai-Fia (u = sign of the masculine gender, mei = mother, ludai = male genital organ, fia = pha = god). This name has perhaps undergone tronsformation to Umaluda = Uma-unda, and is now known as Umānanda, a Śiva-*liṅga* on the peacock island in the middle of the Brahmaputra opposite Gauhāṭi, traditionally believed to be the consort of Kāmākhyā (Kameikhā). The word Kāmeikhā means, according to the Bodos, Ka-mei-kha (fia) = genital organ of the mother goddess. Gradually, the place came to be known by the names Kāmaluda—Kāmaruda—Kāmalupa—Kāmarūpa : See Gait, E. A., *Census Report* (*Assam*), 1901, pp. 203-06.

319. Risley, *op.cit.*, Vol. I, p. 209.

320. Cf.—*mūrdhṇi piṅgalakeśamūrdhastrilochanaṁ sampādya jaṭākalāpaṁ/*
digvāsaṁ bhujaṅgabhūshaṇamugradaṁshṭrakaṁ
Kshetreśaṁ Śambhutanayaṁ bhaje
(*Purohitadarpaṇa* under *Vāstupūjā*)

See also Sastri, H. P., *Notices of Sanskrit Manuscripts*, pp. 21-24.

indignation. The energy thereby infused into the system made him the protector of the field.[321] The phallic form of Kshetrapāla under the names of Kālamegha and Kaṅkāla-bhairava are also represented as objects of worship at Prabhāsa.[322] He has also been identified with Vaṭuka, a Bhairava or emanation of Śiva, in the *Vaṭukabhairava stava*.[323] According to the *Liṅga-purāṇa*, Kshetrapāla is an incarnation of Śiva in the form of Lakulīśa.[324] Thus we find from the etymology of the name as also from the Purāṇic account that the main function of the deity is to protect the cultivated field. The belief is that if anyone cultivates a particular plot of land without worshipping Kshetrapāla, he has to face many obstacles. The cult of Kshetrapāla is highly popular among the women folk of Bengal who attribute a long moustache to the deity. The women of the Districts of Faridpur and Barisal observe the *vrata* of Kshetra in the month of Agrahāyaṇa on Saturdays and Tuesdays of the black-night (*krishṇa-paksha*).[325]

It is well-known that Śiva is intimately connected with the Kirātas, who were hunters. The Kirātas were foresters and mountaineers living probably in the eastern region of the

321. Cf. the wooden image of the temple at Tārāpīṭha, Dist. Birbhum, West Bengal.

322. *Skanda-purāṇa, Kumārikā-khaṇḍa*, 62.18 : here the god is mentioned with a dog as his *vāhana*. The names Kālamegha and Kshetrapāla occur in the Kandhār inscription of the time of Rāshṭrakūṭa III (939-68 A.D.). See *Ep.Ind.*, vol. XXXV, p. 107.

323. Gopinatha Rao, *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, vol. II, pp. 268-75.

324. 14.38. The subject has been dealt with in detail at pp. 22-24 of this work.

325. *Sāhitya Parishat Patrikā*, vol. IX, p. 112.

In Western Bengal, the deity appears in a feminine form and is sometimes worshipped as a form of Lakshmī or Kshetradevī, the presiding deity of the field. (*J. Ant. S.B.*, vol. XIII, pp. 673-78).

Himalayas.[326] Bhāravi in his *Kirātārjuniya* describes the combat between Śiva in the guise of a Kirāta and the Pāṇḍava prince Arjuna. The medieval literature of Bengal represents Śiva as mixing freely with low-caste peoples like the Bāgdi, Ḍom and Koch. He appears as a common peasant (*krishak*) of Bengal. By his behaviour and deeds in this capacity the god, except once or twice, does not allow us to think of his divine status. We feel for his shortcomings, for his hard labour and small gain in the same way as we do for an ordinary peasant of Bengal. He tills the soil with great diligence like a humble farmer lad. He is no more a god worshipped for increasing the fertility or protection of the soil ; no offering is made to him to grant bumper crops or keep away pests. We find in him a person actively engaged in agriculture.[327]

326. According to Dawson, there is a tribe in the central Himalayas called the Kirāntīs who are none but the Kirātas. He says that these Kirāntīs are described in the *Rāmāyaṇa* as islanders who eat fish, live in waters and look like tigers. It is further said that they are perhaps the Cirrhadae referred to by the classical writers. See Dawson, *A Classical Dictionary of Hindu Mythology*, p. 158. It, however, appears that Dawson is confused in identifying the Kirātas.

According to Macdonel and Keith (*Vedic Index*, pp. 157-59), Kirāta is a name applied to a people living in the caves of the mountains, as appears clearly from the dedication of the Kirāta to the caves (*guhā*). The same thing we get in the *Vājasaneyi Saṁhitā* (30.16) and in the *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa* (3.4, 12.1). The *Atharvaveda* (10.4.14) refers to a Kirāta girl (*Kairātikā*) who digs a remedy on the ridges of the mountains. Lassens (*Indische Alterthumskunde*, vol. 1, pp. 530, 534) says that the people called Kirātas were located in Eastern Nepal, but the name seems to have been applied to any aboriginal hill folk, though the *Mānava Dharmasūtra* (4.10.44 ; see also V. Smith, *Journal of the R.A.S.*, 1909, p. 258, n. 1) regards them as degraded Kshatriyas.

In Bāṇa's *Kādambinī* (vv. 121-25) there is a reference to the Kirātas. The poet says that Prince Chandrāpiḍa, attempted a conquest of the world and captured the Kirātas' stronghold on the Hemakūṭa.

327. *IHQ*, 1947, p. 322 ; 1939, p. 183.

It has already been stated that Śiva appears in literature in two distinct forms—as a rustic cultivator and a half-mad mendicant worshipped by the lower strata of the society. From the events narrated in literature we see that his nature and habits as a mendicant are responsible for inducing him to work as a peasant. The god, as a beggar, has, as it were, no other way left but to take up the life of a cultivator. And as a cultivator being attached to the field, the god can taste the bliss of a settled life. It appears, therefore, that in order to make him free from the wandering habits, the poets of medieval Bengal have presented the rustic form of the god. In this connection, it is interesting to note that while in the Bengali literature the theme centering round Śiva's agricultural activities is popular, this subject is practically absent in the folk-songs of other parts of the country. Śiva's conception as a peasant, in Bengal, may be due to the influence of an existing local agriculture god who, in course of time, was unified with the great god. It may be also that the inhabitants of Bengal brought down Śiva from his realm of divinity to be one with them and to act as their guide in cultivation. It may not be out of place to mention that, during the medieval period, people desired the gods to come down from their seats of divinity and to live with them, to feel for them like their near and dear ones and, if needed, to work like themselves.

The social and economic life can be envisaged from the literature of a particular time. In the medieval literature of Bengal, we often find discussions regarding farmers and and cultivators. And, by attaining popularity among this class of people, it was but natural that Śiva had to play the part of a peasant in the agricultural land of Bengal. Thus, besides being a crazy mendicant Śiva is also a cultivator; the Maheśvara of the olden days becomes the Buḍo-Śiva of medieval Bengal.

In the *Maṅgala-kāvyas*, we see that Śiva has, at first, accepted mendicancy as a means of his livelihood. But

begging is an uncertain means of subsistence. The god begs from door to door but has to live without food on many occasions. He often feels embarrassed because he does not get sufficient food to maintain his family. This inability sometimes ends in quarrels with his wife. Gradually, domestic quarrel becomes a daily feature of Śiva's household life. The poor old god, thus worsted by the wife, has no other way left but to accept a different mode of earning. Rāmāi Paṇḍit in his *Śūṇya-purāṇa*, requests the god to till the soil and sow the seeds of paddy (*dhān*) and cotton (*kārpās*). The poet thinks that by doing so the god may have both food and cloth for the members of his family and he himself may not have to starve for want of food or go naked or wear the tiger-skin for want of cloth.[328] The god is thus advised by a devotee to take to some sure means of livelihood. It is, however, strange that a god who gives food to the whole world is himself starving and a devotee, one of his creations, feels for him and advises him how to overcome misery. No other god of the Hindu pantheon, except Śiva, has ever been placed in such a miserable plight. Does this mean that the god's ways are inscrutable ? Or, is it that Śiva is the dearest god who even does not hesitate to listen to the compassionate words of his devotee (*bhakta*) ? Or, it may be that this picture is presented merely because the poet wants to glorify cultivation by bringing a god work as a cultivator. Śiva here looks like an ordinary human being without any divine power. The author of the *Śūṇya-purāṇa* thinks that his god is not conversant with the art of cultivation. He, therefore, advises him to till that land which is near the edge of a pond, because, in that case, even if the land is dried up he can draw water from the pond and irrigate the land. The poet further says that the god by

328. Rāmāi Paṇḍit, *Śūṇya-purāṇa*, ed. D. C. Sen, pt. I, pp. 112ff; *op.cit.*, ed. Charuchandra Bandyopadhyay, p. 182 :

āhmār vachane gosāin tumi chasa chās /
kakhan anna hae gosāin kakhan upavās //

following his advice would surely reap a good harvest so that other peasants would feel jealous. He then asks the god to store for future, because by such storage he can always remain free from worries.[329] He also points out to the god the benefits of tilling. The god then follows his devotee's advice and commences cultivation of the soil with a golden plough and a sickle made of silver.[330] He also uses the other appliances needed for cultivation. Thus, by the end of Māgha, the work of sowing seeds ends and by the month of Śrāvaṇa, the crops are ready. For reaping the harvest, Śiva engages Bhīma Khettrī.[331] In course of reaping, Bhīma incurs Śiva's displeasure by tilling the vacant land on the bank of the Ganges. Śiva rebukes him for this and Bhīma, out of anger, sets fire to the pile of the paddy.[332] At this stage, the poet remembers the kindness of the great god who, according to him, becomes sad at the thought that, as a result of Bhīmas misdeed, the people of the earth would suffer from hunger. In order to protect the world, Śiva begs Indra's help to bring down rains. From what has been stated by the poet in this connection, one can see the god's benevolent character. Here the god thinks for the whole world and not for his own family or self. Rāmāi's Śiva, with Indra's help and by means of his own efforts, could save the crops of his fields, and also

329. *Op.cit.*, vv. 7-8 :

pukharī kā̃ndāe laiba bhīma khāni /
ārasā kaile jena chhichal diba pāni //
ār sab kisān kā̃ndiba māthe hāt diā /
param ichhāe dhānna āniba dāiā //
ghare dhānna thākilek prabhu sukhe anna khāba /
annar vihane prabhu kata dukh pāba /

330. *Op.cit.*, vv. 10-13.

331. One who is skilled in cultivation, *i.e.*, *Kshetra karma-daksha.*

332. *Op.cit.*, v. 46 :

āgun dile dhān puḍe sabege uṭhae dhuā̃ /
pālayete āgun diā pālāila Bhīmā //

produce more crops than before.[333] Thus, we find that the first part of the section *'Atha chas'* of the work Rāmāi Paṇḍit presents Śiva as a helpless, inexperienced peasant but in the latter half the god is found to be more experienced and is eager to manifest his divine supremacy and benevolence.

In another account, it is Pārvatī who persuades her husband to take to agriculture.[334] This is also said by Rāmeśvara and Bhāratachandra. Rāmeśvara in his *Śivāyana* gives a detailed picture of Śiva's practising cultivation. Pārvatī says that, by ploughing, at least, it is possible to get a sure and definite source of income. The god, at first, curses his wife for her extravagance and says, with remorse, that, even if the wealth of the world be given to such a wife, one cannot get rid of wants.[335] The same idea is expressed by Bhāratachandra in his *Annadāmaṅgala*.[336] Rāmeśvara's Śiva argues that cultivation is not an easy profession and unless a cultivator is fully equipped with agricultural implements, he cannot plough the land and reap a harvest. Besides, a portion of the produce is always claimed by the kings, and in consequence, the peasant, who produces crops by hard labour, gets little. The god, therefore, resents the idea of cultivating land as a profession and says that begging is preferable. From his arguments it appears that either the god is reluctant to accept a profession which requires hard labour or he is prudent enough to foresee the nature and result of cultivation in this country. Here we get Śiva, much different from his Purāṇic concept, as a wise cultivator who foresees the shortcomings and consequences of agricul-

333. *Op.cit.*, vv. 55-80.

In this connection, the poet gives a long list of crops, especially different varieties of rice produced in Bengal.

334. Rāmāi Paṇḍit, *Dharmapūjā-vidhāna*, ed. N. G. Banerji, pp. 227ff.

335. Rāmeśvara, *Śivāyana*, ed. Jogilal Haldar, p.215 :

Laṅkār vāṇijya jadi aniyā dei ghare /
māyyā halye uḍuni uḍāy āṅkhi ṭhāre //

336. *Op.cit.*, *Haragaurīr-vivādasūchanā*, pp. 73-74.

ture and likes to equip himself accordingly. Another interesting point to be noted is that Rāmeśvara's Śiva is also, like Rāmāi's Śiva, benevolent and decides, at last, to adopt agriculture so that men of the earth may not die of hunger.[337] But the god in Rāmeśvara's work does not sincerely like cultivation and, in one place, he says that he is ready to accept any other occupation except cultivation. It is only under Pārvatī's insistence that he accepts cultivation as a profession. When Pārvatī sees her husband's strong abhorrence for cultivation, she observes that, besides cultivation, there are two other professions by which one can earn one's livelihood. These are trade and service under a king, though neither of them is suitable for her husband. The success of trade depends on investment and one's capacity to deprive others from their legitimate shares and she knows that her husband has not enough money to invest and is too good to cheat others. Regarding the second profession *viz.*, service under a king, she does not think her husband suitable because he himself being the ruler of world cannot be ruled by any second person. Thus, Pārvatī thinks that the only way, which Śiva can accept, in accordance with his nature and attitude, is cultivation and he should accept, without hesitation, the life of a cultivator.[338] Such arguments of Pārvatī are not found in other works. Here she indirectly refers to the two inherent qualities of her husband, *viz.*, the god's simplicity and magnanimity. There may be a hint to the simplicity of a Bengal peasant and his spirit of independence.

337. *Op.cit.*, p. 216, v. 2136 :
jiver nimitta Śiv kariben chāsh,
eirūpe īśvarke haila hutāsh |

338. *Op.cit.*, p. 222, v. 2210 :
bhikshe duḥkha gela nāi janilām āmi,
chāsh vine ār kona yogya bala tumi ||

WARRIOR

Another important trait of Śiva's character is his role of a fighter. In this aspect, he is found engaged in battles with gods and demons, whoever oppose him. He fights with his enemy till he comes out victorious. We shall see in the course of our discussion that the warriors who challenge his power have ultimately to surrender to him. On every occasion, Śiva proves himself to be the most gallant fighter. By observing his martial feats we have to forget, for the time being, his other roles like those of a typical peasant, a loving father, a devoted husband, a wandering mendicant, and a stupid bridegroom.

Śiva has imbibed his fighting spirit from his Vedic prototype, Rudra. It is said that Rudra's 'cry echoes in the thick of battle, and his voice resounds in the war-drum'.[339] He is represented as the leader of armies and the god of the brave, of foot-soldiers, and of those who fight in chariots and live by the bow, the sword and the spear. He has his *gaṇas*, as the troops under his command.[340]

Śiva's military exploits are referred to in the epics, the Purāṇas and the medieval Śaiva works. He fights sometimes for asserting his claim on these who do not recognise him; sometimes he fights to save his votaries from their enemies and sometimes he is found to kill the demons in order to establish the law and order on the earth.

Śiva's fighting spirit can be judged from the various weapons with which he is associated. The characteristic weapon with which he is said to be armed is the *śūla* or spear and *triśūla* or trident, though his bow *pināka* and the arrow (*pāśūpata*) are occasionally mentioned in the Purāṇas and classical Sanskrit works. With the invincible *pāśupata* arrow, he kills all the *daityas*

339. *Atharvaveda*, 5.21.

340. *Bhāgavata-purāṇa*, 6.6.17.

in battle and with it he also destroys the world at the end of the ages ; it is, again, this weapon which he gives to the heroic Arjuna after the latter's contest with him. It is with the axe, received from Śiva, that Paraśurāma (Rāma with the axe) annihilates the race of warriors. Śiva's bow (*pināka*) is coloured like the rainbow and is a mighty serpent with seven heads, sharp and poisonous teeth, and a large body ; and the weapon never leaves his hand. From his spear and trident the god gets his names of Śūlin, Śulapāni and Śūladhara.[341] Like a warrior, Śiva also expects that the gods should provide him with a chariot.[342]

The first in rank among Śiva's martial exploits, as depicted in the epics and the Purāṇas, is his destruction of the three citadels (*tripura*) of the Asuras in the wars which they wage against the gods. These citadels are referred to in the *Brāhmaṇas* as made of iron, silver and gold. Even Indra cannot pierce these citadels, wherefore the gods seek the aid of Śiva who with the help of his son Kārttikeya burns the forts and exterminates the demons.[343]

341. *Mahābhārata*, 8.41, 45.

342. *Ibid.*, 8.48-58.

......the earth becomes his chariot, the mountain Mandara its axle ; and the great rivers, the regions, the constellations, the serpent Vāsuki, the Himalaya and Vindhya mountains, the plants, the sun and moon, day and night, various goddesses, duty, truth, the *gāyatrī*, etc., form portions of the car (chariot), or of its appurtenances (Muir, *op.cit.*, vol. IV, p. 225).

343. *Ibid.*, 6.53, 56.

The Epic places these three citadels in heaven and makes Vidyunmāli, Tārakāksha and Kamalāksha (a different version in the *Vishṇu-purāṇa*, 2.36, gives the names of the demons as Vidyunmāli, Maya and Tāraka) their respective lords. The legend of the destruction of the three Asura castles appears to have had its origin in some of the attributes ascribed to Agni, in the hymns of the *Ṛigveda*, and was later developed into an important episode in the interminable war between the *Devas* and *Asuras*. In some versions of the legend, the gods themselves are represented to have destroyed the Asura castles without commis-

In different works, Śiva, as a fighter, is found to be worshipped by many legendary heroes. In Bhāravī's *Kirātārjunīya*, Arjuna, one of the greatest fighters of the *Mahābhārata* story, has to first discipline himself and then to face a contest with Śiva before he can get the desired weapon from the god. Similarly, other warriors have also to undergo austerities in order to propitiate the god. As recorded in the epics, heroes like Jayadratha, Paraśurāma, Jarāsandha and Indrajīt gain Śiva's favour by means of penances. It is interesting to note that the god favours these heroes ; but nonetheless, he does not hesitate to go against them on occasions.[344]

A very well-known encounter of Śiva is with Daksha, a son of Prachetā. In the Vedas, the Brāhmaṇas and the Purāṇas there is reference to this incident although it is not narrated in the same way in these works.[345] The god wishes to perform a sacrifice and consequently made preparations under the leadership of Daksha Prajāpati. Daksha performs the sacrifices, under the Vedic rites, at Gaṅgādvāra in the Himalayas. Not knowing Rudra (Śiva) intimately, the gods do not allow him to take part in the sacrifice. It is said that Śiva, in fury, destroys the sacrifice, and in his wrath breaks Savitā's (the sun's) arms and Pushā's teeth, and tears Bhaga's eyes with his bow. Śiva's marriage with the daughter of Daksha seems to be an incident comparatively recent in origin, for though the destruction of Daksha's sacrifice is described in the *Rāmāyaṇa*[346] and *Mahābhārata*[347] they do not even

sioning anyone in particular to do the work. The authors of classical works applied it to Śiva with modifications necessary to enchance his greatness.

344. *Ibid.*, 7.81, 85.

345. See *Ṛigveda*, 10.71 ; 6.59 ; 7.66 and compare with *Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa* (2.4.4), *Kaushītaki-brāhmaṇa* (4.4), *Taittirīya-saṁhitā* (2.6.8), *Vishṇu-purāṇa* (2.31-35) and *Bhāgavata-purāṇa* (2.7). For *Vishṇu-purāṇa* see also Wilson's tr., vol. 1, pp. 120ff.

346. *Rāmāyaṇa*, 6.54.33 ; 1.66.7ff. (Bombay ed.).

347. *Mahābhārata*, 7.81-85 ; 2.44-48 ; 10.75-78 ; 3.14-20. See also Sircar, D. C., *The Sākta Pīṭhas*, pp. 5-6 & App. III, p. 70.

remotely allude the Umā's parentage, or Daksha's relationship to her.[348]

Whatever difference may be in the narration of the incident in the different works, we are acquainted with the valiance of Śiva on this occasion. And, all the other mighty gods appear to be powerless before him. This struggle, according to some scholars, illustrates the enmity of the orthodox adherents of the Vedas with the Śaivites. These scholars, with whom the writer agrees, state that the incident represents, under a mythical veil, the struggle between the supporters of different forms of worship.[349] In the *Saura-purāṇa*,[350] a work which is not later than 1200 A.D., this episode is so narrated as to bring out the anxiety of the supporters of Śiva to prove that he is superior to the other gods. The imposition of superiority on a particular god is, we know, a common feature of every sectarian Purāṇa. Whatever may be the motive behind the references to the incident in dfferent works, the god is represented as a great fighter. He is determined to take revenge when he hears the tragic end of his wife. The most interesting point to note in this connection is that like a true fighter the god never loses the spirit of benevolence. He defeats and destroys his opponent, Daksha, but is magnanimous to give life back to the latter. Fighting is human but benevolence is divine. By granting life to Daksha the warrior-god sets the example to mankind.[351]

348. Kālidāsa, however, states definitely that Satī the former wife of Śiva and daughter of Daksha, could not stand her father's insult to her husband and died (cf. *Kumārasambhava*, 1.5, 21).

349. It is said that Śiva was a deity of the Cushites or Hamites who, it is supposed, preceded the Indo-Aryans ; Śiva wishes to participate in the new worship and sacrifice of the conquerors, from which he is excluded. Afterwards, by disturbing their rites, and committing acts of violence at their sacrifices Śiva succeeds in being admitted to share them, See *Rāmāyaṇa*, Bombay ed., 1.68.9ff ; Gorresso's note No. 35 on the *Rāmāyaṇa*, vol. 10, p. 291, See also D. C. Sircar's view in the *IHQ*, 1940, pp. 562-63.

350. 62.8.

351. This reminds us of Alexander honouring the defeated Puru.

It is related in the *Mahābhārata* that Arjuna goes to supplicate Śiva for celestial weapons, and obtains from him the *pāśupata*.[352] On this occasion, Śiva assumes the form of a Kirāta (barbarous mountaineer), and the two fight with arrows, swords, trees, stones, etc., till at length Arjuna is overpowered by his opponent. He, then, worships his enemy, falling at his feet. Śiva expresses his appreciation for Arjuna's prowess, and promises to give him an irresistible weapon to fight the Kauravas. Bhāravi, a poet of about the 6th century A.D., wrote his famous work, *Kirātārjunīya*, on this fight between Śiva and Arjuna. The poet presents the martial feat of Śiva's hosts under Skanda's leadership ; but the subject-matter is based on the particular event of Arjuna's career as described in the great epic. The underlying idea behind the fight in both the *Mahābhārata* and the *Kirātārjunīya* is to focus on the war-like spirit of Śiva.[353]

352. 3.84-98.

353. *Kirātārjunīya*, 3.27-41 (ed. N. B. Godbole and K. P. Parab, with the comm. of Mallinātha, NSP, Bombay, 1945) :

When the Pāṇḍavas, for leading the life in exile for twelve years, retire to the Dvaita forest, the taunt and instigation of Draupadī, supported by the goading of Bhīma, fail to move the scrupulous Yudhisṭhira to break the pledge and wage war. The sage Vyāsa appears at this time, and on his advice, the Pāṇḍavas move to the Kāmyaka forest, and Arjuna sets out to win divine weepons from Śiva in order to fight the Kauravas. Arjuna's austerities frighten the gods, on whose appeal Śiva descends as a Kirāta, disputes with him on the matter of killing a boar, and after a fight, reveals his true form and grants the devotee the desired weapons.

In the *Mahābhārata* (3.88-102) it is said that Kṛishṇa and Arjuna recite a hymn in honour of Mahādeva, in the course of which he is designated as the "soul of all things, the creator of all things, and the pervader of all things" (*Viśvātmane viśvasṛije viśvamāvṛitya tisṭhate*). Arjuna, after reverencing both Kṛishṇa and Mahādeva, asks the latter for the celestial weapon. Both Arjuna and Kṛishṇa are thereupon sent by Mahādeva to a lake where he says he had formerly deposited his bow and arrows. There they saw two serpents, one of which was vomiting flames, and

The *Kirātārjunīya* episode narrates the story of the human being Arjuna being defeated by the divine being Śiva. This is nothing unusual. Sometimes man challenges the god's power but ultimately surrenders to it. Arjuna is defeated but obtains a boon from the benevolent Śiva. Another interesting point to note in this episode is that Śiva's assuring the form of a Kirāta speaks perhaps of his association with the tribal people. As we have already said, Śiva is probably a god of the non-Aryans who has later been accepted in the Hindu pantheon. Relatively, primitive tribes like the Sabaras and Kirātas seem to have been his worshippers.[354]

In the epics Krishṇa himself applauds Śiva as a great warrior. He says to Yudhisṭhira that nothing is superior to Mahādeva. Nothing can stand before the great deity. In battle, when he is even in the slightest degree incensed, his enemies tremble and fall senseless and are mostly slain. All the gods lose heart on hearing his dreadful voice which resembles the sound of *parjanya, i.e.* the thunder clouds. Verily, this remark made by Krishṇa, who is himself not an ordinary fighter, makes us believe how great a fighter Śiva is.[355]

approached them, bowing to Mahādeva, the serpents change their shape and become a bow and arrow, which Krishṇa and Arjuna bring to Mahādeva. Eventually, Arjuna receives as a boon from Mahādeva the *pāśupata* weapon, with the power of fulfilling his engagement to slay Jayadratha. See pl. No. IX.

354. The ancient records mention a race of people called Kirāta living on the Himalayan borders and also in the Assam Valley (Muir, *op.cit.*, vol. 4, p. 186). Kakati considers that Saivism in some gross form with wine and flesh was the prevailing religion of the aboriginal Kirātas (*The Mother Goddess Kāmākhyā*, p. 17). The *Vājasaneyi Saṁhitā* (18.76) and the *Atharvaveda* (4.24) describe the Kirātas as the people residing in caves. In this connection the Guhakas of the *Rāmāyaṇa* may also be referred to (*ibid.*, p. 198).

355. *Mahābhārata*, 6.28 :

gandhenāpi hi saṁgrāme tasya kruddhasya śatravaḥ /
visajnāḥ hataṁ bhūyishṭhāḥ vepanti cha patanti cha //
ghoraṁścha ninādaṁ tasya Parjanyaṁ ninādopamām /

Śiva is then found to fight the mighty demon Andhaka. This episode is known to the epics and the Purāṇas. The story goes that by Diti are born to Kāśyapa two sons Hiraṇyāksha and Hiraṇyakaśipu. They are respectively killed by Vishṇu in his Varāha and Nṛisiṁha incarnations. Prahlāda, the son of Hiraṇyakaśipu, becomes a devotee of Vishṇu and renounces the world. At this time Andhaka is the ruler of the Asuras. By piously practising a series of austerities, he obtains several boons from Brahmā and becomes very powerful. He then begins to trouble the Devas who run to Kailāsa to complain to Śiva about the fact. In the meanwhile, Andhaka reaches Kailāsa and tries even to abduct Pārvatī. Śiva thereupon gets ready to fight the Asura ; he makes the three well-known snakes, Vāsuki, Takshaka and Dhanañjaya serve as his belt and bracelets. Another Asura, nemed Nīla, who secretly plans to kill Śiva, comes out, in the meanwhile, in the form of an elephant. Nandī comes to know about this intrigue and informs Vīrabhadra who takes the shape of a lion (the natural enemy of an elephant) and attacks Nīla. He kills the demon and offers the skin of the elephant to Śiva. Śiva wears this as his upper garment.[356] Clad with this garment and ornamented with the serpents and wielding his powerful *triśūla*, Śiva sets out on his expedition against Andhakāsura taking with him his army consisting of the *gaṇas*. Other gods run away. Śiva, like a skilful fighter, aims his arrow and shoots at the Asura and wounds him ; blood flows in profusion from the wounds, and each drop of it, as it touches the earth, assumes the shape of another Andhaka. And thus thousands of Andhakas become ready to fight Śiva. Immediately, Śiva thrusts his *triśūla* through the body of the original and real Andhakāsura and begins to dance.[357]

356. Cf. the *Gajāntaka-mūrti* of Śiva (see pl. No. X) and his epithet *Kṛittivāsa*.

357. Gopinātha Rāo, *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, vol. II, pp. 381-82, 389 ; *Atharvaveda*, 2.2.7 : *Rāmāyaṇa*, 3.30, 27 ; Muir, *op.cit.*, vol. I,

The Araṇya-kāṇḍa of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, however, gives a different account of this fight which is interesting in as much as it presents Śiva as a god who fights in order to save his devotee. In this work, the Asura Andhaka is slain by Rudra in the Śveta forest. The reading *Antaka* (death) for Andhaka is frequently met with. The sage Śveta is an eminent votary of Śiva; Antaka (Andhaka) comes to kill the sage on the Kālañjara mountain where the latter practices austerities. Śiva appears and destroys Andhaka by a blow of his left foot[358]

In the *Kumārasambhava*, Kālidāsa, following the old traditions, thinks Śiva as the only hero who can save the world from the onslaughts of the demon Tāraka. The gods, who are in deep distress due to the menace, approach Kāmadeva to incite love for Umā in Śiva's heart so that from the marital union of the two a deliverer may be born. Although Kāmadeva is burnt to ashes as a result of the wrath of the god, who, at that time, is in deep meditation, yet, later, Umā succeeds in winning over the ascetic god, who, in the company of

pp. 379-84. To stop the blood from falling on the earth, Śiva creates out of the flame that issues from his mouth a *śakti* called Yogeśvarī. Indra and the other gods also send their *śaktis* to serve the same purpose. These are the *mātṛikās* or mother goddesses. The *Varāha-purāṇa* (8.34) states that there are eight *mātṛikās* although all other Purāṇas and Āgamas mention them to be seven. They are Brahmāṇī, Māheśvarī, Kaumārī, Vaishṇavī, Vārāhī, Ind rāṇī and Chāmuṇḍā. The *Varāha-purāṇa* adds Yogeśvarī and says that these *mātṛikās* represent eight mental qualities. These *mātṛikās* catch all drops of blood, issuing forth from the demon's wound, as they fall while Andhaka fights with Śiva and thus stop the further multiplication of secondary Andhakas. In the struggle, Andhakāsura finally loses his power known as *Asura-māyā* and is defeated by Śiva. At the end, however, the demon gets Śiva's grace. With reference to the *mātṛikās* mentioned above it is interesting to note the mental qualities represented by them; Yogeśvarī represents *kāma* (desire); Māheśvarī, *krodha* (anger); Vaishṇavī, *lobha* (covetousness); Brahmāṇī, *mada* (pride); Kaumārī, *moha* (illusion); Indrāṇī, *mātsarya* (envy); Yāmī or Chāmuṇḍā, *paiśūnya* (malice); and Vārahī, *asūyā* (jealousy).

358. *Rāmāyaṇa*, 3.30.37; *Kūrma-purāṇa*, 36.8.

Kārttikeya, his son from the union, is able to challenge the might of the demon.[359] The same story is narrated in a similar way by the poets of the *Maṅgala-kāvyas*.[360]

In the *Rāmāyaṇa*, another interesting point is that Indra, the king of the gods (*devarāja*), utters the famous *Śatarudriya*, a prayer which is also uttered by Arjuna and Kṛishṇa for getting the celestial weapon, *pāśupata*, from Śiva. Indra's invocation to Śiva proves the superiority of the latter. The details of the hymn, as uttered by the king of the gods, clearly show the greatness, the all-pervasiveness as also the martial quality of Śiva.[361]

Referring to the warrior characteristic of Śiva, the epithet *kshyadvīra* has been used for Rudra-Śiva in the *Atharvaveda* and the *Brāhmaṇas*.[362] The general meaning of the term is *nṛipati* (king), or as Aufrecht translates it 'ruling over man as well as gods'.[363] But Śiva is himself found to interpret the term as 'he in whom heroes dwell or, he who is possessed of heroes; or, he through whom heroes perish'.[364] This explanation undoubtedly shows the martial nature of the god.

Śiva's fight with Vishṇu, as depicted in the *Rāmāyāṇa* (1.80-88) and other works, presents him as a valiant fighter with great bodily strength and military acumen. In the first book of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, the gods make a request to Brahmā to find out the strength and weakness of Śitikaṇṭha

359. *Kumārasambhava*, canto ii, vv. 58-72; Keith, *A History of Sanskrit Literature*, pp. 84-88; *Rāmāyaṇa* (Bombay ed.), 1.23.10ff.; 37.5ff.

360. Rāmakṛishṇa Kavichandra, *op.cit.*, pp. 121-27, Bhāratachandra, *op.cit.*, pp. 132-35; Mukundarāma, *op.cit.*, pp. 140-42; Vishṇu Pāla, *Manasāmaṅgala*, intro., pp. XII-XX.

361. Muir, *op.cit.*, vol. IV, pp. 186, 193 & 222; Weber, *Indische Studien*, pp. 29ff.

362. *Op.cit.*, 4.16; *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, 6.1.3.

363. Muir, *op.cit.*, vol. IV, p. 301.

364. Whitney in the *Journal of American Oriental Society*, vol. III, p. 318.

Mahādeva) and Vishṇu.[365] Brahmā, learning the purpose of the gods, creates enmity between the two. Thus a terrible fight ensues between Śiva and Vishṇu, each being eager to subdue the other. Śiva hurls his weapon of dreadful power towards his enemy and, in consequence, the whole earth appears as if it is going to be destroyed. All the gods and sages, who have assembled there to witness the fight, entreat the two opponents to give up their fighting. Both the fighters realise the grave consequence of their fight and decide to lay down arms.

The same enmity and a subsequent understanding between Śiva and Vishṇu can be found in the Baṇāsura episode, which has been elaborately narrated by Rāmakṛishṇa Kavichandra.[366] Here also, the poet describes both the gods as great fighters skilled in warfare. But, Śiva's anger, as the poet depicts, is a greater danger and all the gods join together to pacify the infuriated fighter. In the end, both Śiva and Kṛishṇa (Vishṇu), embrace each other and Bāṇa, the votary of Śiva, alongwith the whole world is saved.

These fights, as a matter of fact, represent the conflict between the two rival sects, the Śaivites and Vaishṇavites. That in course of time both the sects made a compromise is clear from the composite icon of Hari-Hara of the medieval ages. It will be seen in course of our discussion that various works from the 10th to the 19th century A.D. refer on many occasions to this syncretistic aspect of Indian religion. In fact, the compromising attitude is a characteristic bent of the Indian mind.

Rāmakṛishṇa Kavichandra and Rāmeśvara describe, in their *Śivāyanas*, Śiva's encounter with Kṛishṇa. Here Śiva supports his devotee Bāṇāsura, a demon ready to fight against

365. *Rāmāyaṇa* (Bombay ed.), 1.76 :
tadā te devatāḥ sarvāḥ pṛichhanti sma Pitāmaham |
Śitikaṇṭhasya Vishṇoścha balābalanirīkshayā ||

366. *Op.cit.*, pp. 300-06.

Kṛishṇa, who helps his grandson, Aniruddha to get Ushā, the daughter of the demon. Bāṇa, by means of austerities, is blessed by Śiva to become invincible in battle. Hari (Kṛishṇa) and Hara (Śiva), in support of their respective votaries; decide to test each other's might. Kṛishṇa is no less a fighter than Śiva; but it is he who has to come to a settlement so that the whole world may not be destroyed as a result of Śiva's anger. Although the poet has presented Śiva as a greater warrior than Kṛishṇa, he has not forgetten the benevolence of the god. Bāṇāsura, through Śiva's favour receives the magnificient chariot drawn by one hundred lions and defies the power of all gods except Śiva. When the Asura is almost determined to destroy the divine world, Śiva, the compassionate and a true hero, comes to the rescue of the gods. He asks Bāṇa to change his mind. Bāṇa obeys Śiva and the divine world is saved.

Śiva's fighting spirit is noticed also in Bhārata-chandra's *Annadāmaṅgala*. Here the god is engaged in an encounter with Vyāsa who was a devotee of Kṛishṇa in the beginning. Vyāsa humiliates Śiva by saying that, while the devotion to Śiva cannot bring salvation, emancipation is achieved through the worship of Vishṇu *alias* Kṛishṇa. At this remark of the sage, Śiva gets infuriated and decides to punish Vyāsa. The way in which the god calls out Nandī to bring his trident makes us feel that he is ready to fight. But, Vyāsa was a sage, not a fighter. When he sees the god approaching with his terrible weapons, he trembles with fear. It is only Annapūrṇā's grace that saves Vyāsa. Finding that the sage has been favoured by the goddess, Śiva tells him that one showing equal respect to himself and Kṛishṇa (*i.e.*, one to whom Hari and Hara is one) is a real devotee.

This episode, also depicts the compromising attitude of the two rival sects, Śaivism and Vaishṇavism. In the end

of this story we see that Vyāsa, once a staunch devotee of Vishṇu, becomes an ardent worshipper of Śiva.[367]

The same fighting attitude of the god can be seen when he decides to punish Brahmā. Brahmā's fifth head is torn by Śiva, when the former commits incest with his daughter.[368]

367. Bhāratachandra, *op.cit.*, *Śiva-Vyāse-kathopakathan*, pp. 132-35 :

mahākrodhe Mahārudra dhariā pināk |
śūl āna śūl āna ghana den ḍāk ||
Vyāsdev Rudrarūpī dekhi Maheśvare |
bhaye kampamān tanu kāṅpe thare thare ||
badhite nāren Annapūrṇār kāraṇe |
bhartsiyā Vyāsere kan tarjane garjane ||
Hari Hara dui morā abhed śarīr |
abhed je jan bhaje sei bhakta dhīr ||

368. *Vāyu-purāṇa*, 2.31-35; *Matsya-purāṇa* 4.64-65. The *Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa* (6.28) says that Brahmā lost his fifth head because he posed himself as greater than Śiva who therefore tore it off. There is an interesting account of Brahmā losing the fifth head in a myth current in the coast area to the north of Madras, which is worth mentioning in this connection.

The story goes that nine kings, who were formerly worshipping Ammavaru, stopped it and changed the Vishṇu marks on their foreheads for those of Śiva. It is definitely a striking example of Vaishṇavism coming in clash with Śaivism which ultimately became the leading cult of the region. It is said that seeing the victory of the Śaivites Ammavaru disguised himself as a Liṅgāyat and sought permission to enter a Śaiva temple. The gate-keeper refused to admit her till she had narrated the story of Śiva's marriage with Pārvatī. Ammavaru then continued to say that, on the wedding day, the gold and silver bracelets were tied to the bridegroom's and the bride's wrists, festoons of fig leaves were hung up and all arrangements, necessary for the occasion, were made. A piece of cloth was spread over the heads of the bridegroom and the bride so that the two, being unnoticed by others, might see each other closely. The faces of Brahmā, who was acting as the priest for the function and was chanting Vedic *mantras*, were covered with a sackcloth. After tying the *tāli* (a small metal disc or ornament suspended by a thread, the mark of a married woman) round Pārvatī's neck, Śiva put his foot on the bride's foot, and the bride put her foot on his (this part of the ceremony is of special importance and is known as *kuśaṇḍikā*, popularly called *bāsi*

In Bhāratachandra's *Annadāmaṅgala*, Brahmā himself says that he lost his fifth head on account of Śiva's anger and that he could not resist him from tearing it off.[369]

It is said in another place that Śiva once decides to visit the hermitage of the seven sages (*saptarshi*), who became unruly and defied the power of Śiva. When Śiva comes to know this, he asks Dharma to be his vehicle and decides to go to the hermitage in order to make the sages feel his superiority. With this idea, alongwith Vishṇu as a beautiful maid, he reaches the hermitage in the guise of a young ascetic. The charming and youthful appearance of the ascetic roused passion in the minds of the wives of the sages, except Arundhatī. The sages are also captivated by the beauty of the maiden (*i.e.* Vishṇu) accompanying Śiva. A great confusion follows. The sages then decide to drive the ascetic out of the place. At first, they send a fierce tiger to attack Śiva; but the god tears it off, clads himself with its skin (*cf.* his epithet *kṛittivāsa*). Next, the sages throw a trident at Śiva; but the latter easily catches it and becomes the holder of the trident (*śūlapāṇi*). Failing in their attempts, the sages let loose the mighty serpent king, Vāsuki, but the god overpowers the *nāgarāja* and hangs it round his neck like a garland (*sarpabhūshaṇa*).[370] On beholding the miraculous feats the sages recognise Śiva's superiority and become his devotees. This incident represents Śiva as a fighter. At the same time, it shows the antagonistic feeling of a group of sages against Śiva in the beginning though they later become his followers.

biye in Bengal). Brahmā saw the shadow of Pārvatī's foot, was filled with passion, and disturbed the ceremony by unseemly conduct. Śiva grew angry, abused Brahmā, and cut off one of his heads.

369. Bhāratachandra, *op.cit.*, p. 150 :

āmār āchhila bāchhā pāñchṭi vadan |
ek māthā kāṭiyā laila Pañchānan ||
ki karite tāhe āmi paḍilām tāñr |
sṛishṭi sthiti pralay lilāy hay jār ||

370. Muir, *op.cit.*, vol. IV, pp. 172-75.

It is interesting to note that, in most cases, Śiva, at the outset, is refused recognition by his opponents who are later compelled to accept his superiority (*cf. Dakshayajña* episode).[371]

In Vishṇu Pāla's *Manasāmaṅgala*, we get an interesting reference to this aspect of Śiva. When the god meets Manasā in the lotus-field and intends to take her with him, the serpent-daughter turns herself into a white spider and is brought home by Śiva in his flower-basket. Angry with Śiva for bringing Manasā home, Durgā (*i.e.*, Chaṇḍī) decides to leave for her father's house. After sending Neto to Manasā, Brahmā hurries to stop the goddess. Failing to pursuade her, he comes back and reports to Śiva. Śiva then turns himself into a Yavana soldier and takes his station in a shanty that stands in Durgā's way to her father's house. The god wears a blue loin cloth, and a beautiful turban on the head. Holding a sword and a knife in the hands he looks like a true Yavana. But he takes flattened rice and sweets and making a bundle of them wait for Pārvatī.[372]

The description is interesting in so far as Śiva has been presented here as a Yavana fighter. Probably the idea behind the god deciding to wait for his wife on the way in the garb

371. *Śivasamaya-purāṇa* (Dakshiṇa Bhārata), ed. G. Ramayya, pp. 81-85; *Mahābhārata*, *Agni-upākhyāna*, 6.29; *Liṅga-purāṇa*, *Śivopākhyāna*, 8.28; 7.36.

372. Vishṇu Pāla, *Manasāmaṅgala*, intro., pp. xii-xx:

nīl dhāri pare kibā dostar māthāy |
khāḍā chhuri nilā yavana avatār ||
chīḍā sandeś nilā bon̄chkā bādhiā |
Pārvatīr āge pathe rahilā dān̄ḍāiā ||

In this connection, it may be mentioned that the poet has meant a Muslim soldier by the word '*yavana*'. A clay head from Nabadwip, now in the Asutosh Museum, Calcutta (Reg. No. T 2775) is an interesting object in this connection. This is supposed to be that of Mahādeva and is a portrait of militant Śiva. On his head there is a corrugated golden helmet and on the centre of it stands the symbol of the union, the so-called *liṅga-paṭṭa* alongwith four serpent-hoods.

of a *yavana* soldier is that he wants to frighten his wife and take her back by force. Or, it may be that this is only one of the god's ways (*līlā*) or that the poet takes only a Muslim soldier to be a valiant fighter. But, the poet has, at the same time, drawn the picture of an ordinary villager when the god, like a sincere husband of rural areas, is seen to make a bundle of flattened rice and sweets and waits for his wife.

Mackay's description of the devices on one Indus Valley seal is also of great interest. It depicts a buffalo with rugged horns; in the extreme left corner is shown a man with his foot upon the buffalo's nose, grasping a horn with one hand and with the other about to thrust a spear with a barbed point into the animal's back. Mackay thinks that the man is probably the god Śiva and remarks that this scene 'may represent a belief not unlike the legend of Dundubhi, the buffalo demon, whom Śiva and other gods attacked with trident; though their weapons proved powerless against the animal, they eventually killed it by means of incantations.[373] If we agree with Mackay, Śiva appears as a fighter even in the proto-historic time.[374]

We have seen that Śiva appears as a *yavana* soldier in Vishṇu Pāla's *Manasāmaṅgala*. In Sahadeva Chakravartī's *Dharma-purāṇa* a work probably of the 17th century, not only Śiva but the hosts of all important gods, Chaṇḍī representing the *Śakti* cult and Padmāvatī representing the *Manasā* cult are presented as *yavana* (Musalmān) *Nirañjaner-rūshmā* section.[375] The description runs as follows : Dharma wears a black cap on his head; Nirañjan becomes a divine incarnation; Brahmā

373. Mackay, *Indus Valley Civilisation*, Seal No. 279, vol. I, p. 936.

374. In the 9th chapter of the *Avantikshetra-māhātmya* of the *Āvantya-khaṇḍa* of the *Skanda-purāṇa* (see Oppert, *Oriental Inhabitants of India*, pp. 473-74), there is a story of the buffalo-demon Halāhala being killed by the *gaṇas* of Śiva assembled in the Rudrakshetra near Avanti. Cf. the *Mahishāsura* episode of the *Durgā saptaśatī*.

375. Chakravarti, S., *Dharma-purāṇa*, pp. 89-95; see also Goswami, M., *Rāiguṇākar Bhāratachandra*, p. 184.

appears as Muhammad ; Vishṇu comes as a royal messenger ; Śiva proceeds like the Ādampha ; Gaṇeśa moves in front like a leader ; Kārttika attends on the group as a medicineman and other sages accompany the procession. Nārada leaves his own dress and becomes a *Śekh* and Indra takes the role of a Moulānā. Other gods, like the sun and the moon march like foot-soldiers playing on instruments. Chaṇḍī appears as Queen Hāwā and Padmāvatī as Queen Nūr. All the gods of the universe, thus united, mount on good horses and march together for a triumphant entry into the city of Jājpur in Orissa.[376]

The description presents a remarkable picture of an over-all compromise between the different cults and between the dominant religions of this country. It undoubtedly sets the unique example of the Indian unity in diversity.

Keeping the martial quality in view, the god has been represented in many sculptures as a warrior with drawn bow

376. Chakravartī, S., *op.cit.*, p. 92 :

Dharma haila yavan rūpī, māthāy ta kālaṭupi,
hāte śobhe trikach kāmān |
chāpiyā uttam hay, tribhūvane lāge bhay,
khodāy baliyā ek nām ||
Nirañjan nirākār, haila bhesta avatār,
mukhete balaye dambadār |
yatek devatāgaṇ, sabhe hayyā ekman,
ānande ta parilā ijār ||
Brahmā haila Mahāmad. Vishṇu haila pegāmbar,
Ādampha haila śūlapāṇi |
Gaṇeś haila gājī, Kārttik haila kājī
phakir haila yata muni ||
tejiyā āpan bhek, Nārada haila śekh,
Purandar haila maulānā |
Chandra-Sūryya ādi deve padātik hayyā seve,
sabhe mili bājāy bājanā ||
āpani Chaṇḍikā devī, tiha haila Hāwā bīwī,
Padmāvatī haila bīwī Nūr |
Yatek devātagaṇ, hayya sabhe ekman,
praveś karila Jājpur ||

standing in the *ālīḍha* posture. In the representation of Tripurāntaka at Ellora, Śiva is shown in the martial glory which reminds us of Kālidāsa's description *atisthadalīḍha viśeshaśobhina vapuḥprakarsheṇa viḍambiteśvaraḥ*.[377] This same theme, which has been a source of inspiration to the mighty kings, has been chosen by the Pallava monarchs as well. The Tripurāntaka episode is presented in the carving of temples ar Kāñchīpuram and the Olakkanātha at Mahāballipuram.[378] In the Pallava sculptures, Śiva as Tripurāntaka is depicted with many arms, a feature which we usually find in North Indian representations of Naṭesa, Bhairava, Mahākāla and Andhakāri. The introduction of multi-handedness is perhaps to emphasize the importance of the figure as a great victor (*cf.* the figure of Mahishamardinī).[379] The ease with which the god wins the battle is suggested by his *ālīḍha* posture wherein the movement of a fighter is expressed. This becomes more marked in the magnificient panel of Tripurāntaka from the Rājarājeśvara temple at Thanjavur which is a wonder of early Chola art. Śiva is here found standing four-armed, with the bow and arrow in his hand, and this along-with the Kirātamūrti, that fights with and appreciates the great resistance by Arjuna whom he blesses with the *pāśupata* weapon is repeated without number.[380]

The Kashmiri Śaivite poets narrate some of the military exploits of the god. The *Śrīkaṇṭhacharita* of Maṅkha, composed between 1135 and 1145 A.D., deals with the story of destruction of the demon Tripura by Śiva. The *Haravijaya* of Ratnākara, who flourished under Cipaṭṭa Jayāpīḍa (832-844 A.D.) and Avantivarman (855-883 A.D.) relates the story of the slaying of the demon Andhaka by Śiva. There is, how-

377. Sivaramamurti, C., *Royal Conquests and Cultural Migrations in South India and the Deccan*, p. 5 ; *Raghuvaṁśa*, 3.52.
378. Sivaramamurti, C., *op.cit.*, pp. 18-22.
379. Coomaraswamy, A. K., *The Dance of Śiva*, p. 18.
380. Sastri, K. A. N., *The Cholas*, vol. I, 2nd ed., 1955, pp. 18-22.

ever, a slight deviation in the narration of the incident in this work, in which the father of the demon, born blind, is Śiva himself. The demon regains sight by his austerities and becomes a menace to the gods.[381] In Bilhaṇa's *Vikramāṅkadevacharita* also, we find that it is through Śiva's grace that Vikrama is born and that it is only through the god's intervention that Vikrama is able to crush the rebellion of his younger brother and succeeds his elder brother to the throne.[382]

From what has been discussed above, we see that the legendary heroes of India have a high regard for Śiva's martial quality. Almost all of them are small before the great hero of the divine world. The god fought many a battle, but, like a true hero, he always judges the quality and valour of his opponent whom he does not hesitate to honour whenever necessary. Kṛishṇa, the Vaishṇavite hero, is found to render homage to Śiva. In one place, Śiva says to Aśvathāmā that Krishṇa is his great favourite because the latter recognised his might and duly worshipped him.[383]

In Jāyasī's *Padmāvat*, there is also reference to the fighting aspect of Śiva.[384] King Gandharvasen of Ceylon will not allow Ratansen, the prince of Chitor, to marry his daughter, Padmāvatī. But, Ratansen and Padmāvatī are in love. Śiva and Pārvatī intervene in disguise but cannot convince the old king. In the meanwhile, Gandharvasen decides to fight against Ratansen, who takes the garb of an ascetic. Gandharvasen collects a huge army and is ready to fight with his

381. *Kāśmīrī Kāvyamālā Series*, ed. G. Karan, pp. 48-52.

382. *Vikramāṅkadevacharita*, ed. G. Buhler, pp. 29-30.

383. *Mahābhārata*, Sauptika-parva, 10.18-28 :

Satya-śanchārjava-tyāgaischa tapasā-niyamena cha |
kshāntyā matyā cha buddhyā cha vachasā tathā ||
yathāvad ahaṁ ārāddhaḥ Kṛishṇenāklishṭa karmaṇā |
tasmād ishṭalamaḥ Kṛishṇād anyumama na vidyate ||

384. *Jāyasī granthāvalī*, ed. Ramachandra Shukla, pp. 97-130; *Padmāvat*, ed. V. S. Agrawal, pp. 197-208.

opponent. At this stage, Śiva comes to help the distressed lover, who is his great devotee. All other gods, alongwith Hanumān, come down on the battlefield and join Śiva. As soon as the elephants of Gandharvasen's army move forward, all of them are thrown in the sky by Hanumān. Just at that moment the old king hears the sound of Śiva's kettle-drum,[385] and of Vishṇu's conch-shell on the side of the ascetics and sees, to his utter surprise, that Śiva himself is present there to fight. On seeing Śiva on the battlefield, Gandharvasen falls at his feet, requests the god to take Padmāvatī as his own daughter, and asks him to give her away to any person of his choice. Thus Gandharvasen surrenders himself to Śiva.[386]

385. In the present work, the word is *ghaṇṭā* (bell). The *ghaṇṭā* stands for sound, as is indicative of the *mantra-svarūpa* of Śiva. See Gopinātha Rāo, *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, vol. 1, pt., p. 294; the kettle-drum (*ḍambaru*) signifies sound and also the symbol of creation; *cf.* the icon of Naṭarāja, holding drum (*ḍambāru*, symbol of creation) in the upper right hand and fire (*agni*, symbol of destruction) in the upper left.

386. *Jāyasī granthāvalī*, ed. Ramachandra Shukl, *Ratansen Śūlī Khaṇḍ*, p. 108:

jahavāṅ Mahādeva raṇ khaḍā /
sīs nāi nṛipa pāyaṅha paḍā //

CHAPTER III

HEMP-SMOKER

Another interesting characteristic of Śiva is that he is addicted to smoking or taking hemp, which is variously called *gāñjā*, *bhāṅg* and *siddhi*.[387] Among the important gods of the Hindu pantheon, Śiva alone takes hemp and sometimes lives under intoxication. The other god, who is found in the Vedas to remain under the spell of drinks, is Indra. *Soma* is the favourite drink of Indra and is called *vijaya*[388] because it gives success. The compassionate gods sent *soma* to earth, so that mankind may enjoy delight, fearlessness and sexual excitement.[389]

387. The popular name of the plant *Cannabis Sativa* is *bhāṅg* and the male plants only yield *gāñjā*, and while *gāñjā* and *bhāṅg* are dry leaves, *siddhi* is a narcotic preparation mixed with milk etc.

388. Note that evern to-day *siddhi* is a favourite drink of the people on the *Vijayā-daśamī* day.

389. Dutt, U. C., *The Materia Medica of Hindus*, p. 236.

The word *soma* means simple 'extract' (from the root *su*, to express, extract). It is the name of a beverage prepared from the *asclepias acida* which grows abundantly upon the mountains of India and Persia (Whitney in the *JAOS*, III, pp. 299-300). In the 9th book of the *Ṛigveda* there are 114 hymns which are addressed to *Soma*. The large number of hymns dedicated to *Soma* indicate the popularity of the drug in the Vedic Age. It may be that as the poople of that period could perceive that the juice made out of the *soma* plant had the power to elevate the spirit and produce a temporary phrenzy they found in it something divine. In describing the origination of *Soma* Keith has given an interesting account. He refers to *sura* and *asura* and says that *sura* meaning 'god' also indicates a person who drinks spirituous liquor (*surā*) while *asura* means a non-god and one who is ignorant of liquor. That is to say, the non-Aryans did not know the art of drinking. (But Keith's generalisation may not be proper in so far as we know that there were non-Aryans like Rāvaṇa who used to drink). In this connection, he refers to the myth which relates that when the goddess of wine appeared

It is not known exactly when the *bhāṅg* or *gānjā* was associated with Śiva. But this much is certain that the ascetic character of the god brings him in close association with the drug. It may be that asceticism requires concentration of mind and body and the Indian ascetic finds this concentration by taking hemp when other kinds of intoxicant like *soma*, *surā* etc. are not available. The *Atharvaveda* (11.45) mentions the hemp plant as a sacred grass, as one of the five herbs offered in oblations, *viz.*, *soma*, *kuśa*, *bhaṅga*, *java and saha*.[390] Watt says, 'the first mention of *bhaṅga* as a medicine which I have noted is in the work of *Śūśruta* (before the 8th cent. A.D.) where it is called antiphlegmatic. During the next four centuries *bhaṅgā* (fem.) frequently occurs in Native Sanskrit dictionaries in the sense of hemp plant.[391] The same author adds that in the 10th century the intoxicating nature of *bhāṅg* was known and the name *indrāśana* (Indra's food) first appeared in literature.[392]

on the milk-ocean with a bowl of *surā* the gods partook of it and their enemies did not, from which the latter came to be called *asuras* (*Religion and Philosophy of the Veda and Upanishads*, vol. II, p. 202). According to Kaegi, the sorrow-dispelling *soma*, on acconnt of its inspiring power, is raised to the position of a god (*The Ṛigveda*, p. 89). Bloomfield (*The Religion of the Vedas*, p. 145) says that the drink is prepared from a plant named *soma* which grows upon the mountains like the Mujavat (*RV*, 1.93.6). The *soma* has green shoots and yields a golden fluid which insures health and long life and averts death. Watt (*Commercial Products of India*, vol. III, p. 339) opines that this drink was a great favourite in ancient days because one of the important sacrifices in the Vedic age was *Vājapeya* meaning the 'drink of strength' in which the offering of a cup of *soma* juice was compulsory.

390. Watt, *op.cit.*, vol. II, p. 246.

391. *Ibid.*, p. 253.

392. *Ibid.*, pp, 105-107 :

Both the masculine and feminine forms of the name *bhaṅga* are in use by the people of the Himalayan regions who call the male plant *phūl-bhāṅg* and the female *gul-bhāṅg*. The intoxicating property of the drug is traced in the names *ānanda* (the joyous), *harshiṇī* (the delight-

In is not known how Śiva, among all the gods of the Hindu pantheon of the later period, becomes closely connected with hemp. In the Śaiva works he is found, on many occasions, deeply addicted to *bhāṅg* or *siddhi* and sometimes to *gāñjā*. The Purāṇas say that Śiva becomes addicted to drinking as the result of a curse inflicted on him by Daksha.[393] He is called the god of the eight *siddhis* and like Gaṇeśa, is, known as Siddhideva.[394] In the *Vaṭuka-Bhairavastava* he is described as *siddhidaḥ siddhisevitaḥ*. It is possible that from the association of *siddhi* with Śiva, the god, in later days, is presented as having the habit of taking *bhāṅg*.[395]

giver), *mardinī* (the intoxicator), and *gañjakinī* (the noisy). The popular belief is that the *gāñja*-yielding plants are males and the non-narcotic plants are females. That is, the toxin is in the male and the fibre is in the female. According to *Rājavallava gāñja* was born in the from of *pīyūsh* at the time of the churning of the ocean. Its other name is *vijay* because by drinking it fear disappears and joy increases (*Viśvakosha*, vol. VI, p. 264). This may be the reasen why on the *Vijayā-daśamī* day of the *Durgā-pūjā* festival people like to take *bhāṅg* or *siddhi*. The terms *gāñjā* and *bhāṅg* are closely associated. According to the *Bṛihatsaṁhitā* (3-18) *bhaṅga* is an auspicious object and is kept, alongwith other things, in a pitcher at the altar. In the *Śūsruta* (14.26) *bhaṅga* and *gāñjā* are referred to as poisons of a tree. In Assam, *bhāṅg* is a drink known as *guntā* (*Viśvakosha*, vol. VI, p. 265). That it was in use in ancient days is clear from the terms *bhaṅgājala* aud *bhaṅgāśana* of the *Kauśitakī-brāhmaṇa* (11-33). It is said that the sages used to take this drug in place of *soma* in sacrifices. See also *Śiva-purāṇa* by Narasiṁhadāsa (*Pūthi-parichaya*, pt. 1, No. 213 Viśvabhāratī Granthālaya, p. 138) and *Gāñjā o Tāmākur Gān* by Dvija Rāmānanda (*Pūthi-parichaya*, pt. 1, No. 124, Viśvabhāratī Granthālaya, p. 140).

393. See chapter 1 of the *Skanda-purāṇa*, *Maheśvara-kedāra khaṇḍa*; *cf.* also Krishṇarāma, *Kālikā-maṅgala*, pp. 7-12.

394. Gupta, A. R., in *Pravāsī* (Basiśākh), 1329 B.S., p. 129.

395. The eight *siddhis* are—*aṇimā laghimā prāptiḥ prākāmyaṁ mahimā tathā / īśitvaṁ eha vaśitvaṁ cha tathā kāmavasāyitā* (*Brahmavaivarta-purāṇa*, *Srīkṛishṇajanma-khaṇḍa*, ch. 39). See also *Chaitanya-charitāmṛita* (*Baṅgabāsī*), v 203, *Manu*, 6.42, *Śrīmadbhāgavata*, 3.33.32 ; *siddhi vinā kona kārya siddha nāhi hay* (*Durgāpañcharātri*, pub. Kaśivilās Bandyopādhyāy, p. 103).

Bhāratachandra in his *Annadāmaṅgala* also refers to Śiva's addiction to hemp. The poet says that when the god goes to marry he has to remain, as per marriage custom, on fast for a long time and during this period he is impatient to take hemp. He says to Nandī about the pitiable state of his mind and body without the drug. The god further says that by not taking the drug he is practically losing his intelligence, and even his sense. He complains that without the drug his whole mouth has dried up and he feels an excessive uneasiness. The god can no longer control himself and asks Nandī to bring the new mortar, given by Viśvakarmā. He thinks that the day is auspicious for grinding hemp-leaves on the new mortar.[396] Śiva becomes extremely happy when he finds that Nandī has finished the grinding of hemp. Next the poet describes the influence of the drug. The god's eyes have become drowsy and his behaviour shows that he is tipsy. The tiger-skin worn by him, drops down and the garland of bones is deranged. Being under intoxication, the god forgets to take his kettle-drum, the horn-flute, the bow and the trident. With no reason whatsoever, he laughs at intervals and calls out Nandī with half-choaked voice to bring *nakula* (usually taken after drinking *siddhi*).[397]

396. Bhāratachandra, *op.cit.*, pp. 63-68 ፡

eta belā haila dekha siddhi nāhi khāi |
buddhi hārā haiyāchhi suddhi nāhi pāi ||
phā̃phar hainu dekha mukhe uḍe pheko |
bhebhāchākā lāgila bhuliyā hainu bheko ||
nūtan ghoṭnā kūḍā diyāchhe Viśāi |
āji baḍa śubha din bār kara tāi ||

See also *Bhāratachandra granthāvalī* (Baṅgabāsī), pp. 38, 87, 255.

397. *Ibid.*, p. 66 :

Mahādever ā̃khi ḍhulu ḍhul
siddhite magan buddhi suddhi haila bhul |
nayane dharila raṅga alase avaśa aṅga
laṭapaṭa jaṭājūṭa gaṅgā hul thul ||
khasila bāgher chhāl ālu thālu hāḍmāl
bhulila ḍamaru siṅga pināk triśūl |

This description presents a clear picture of a person who is in the habit of smoking hemp and drinking *siddhi*.

In another place of the same work we find Vyāsa saying to Gaṅgā that it is useless to approach Śiva because he always remains forgetful of everything under the spell of *bhāṅg* and *dhaturā*. Vyāsa thinks that the god has acquired this drug habit because he possesses only the quality of *tamas*.[398] That the god remains under intoxication has been well presented also in a Bengali folk-song. Here the poet says that Śiva is old, his hairs and beard are white and his eyes are always drowsy on account of tipsiness.[399] Contrary to the ideas of Vyāsa and the poet of the Bengali folk-song, Tulasīdāsa thinks that Śiva takes hemp not because he likes intoxication but because he intends to lead the life of an ascetic.[400] The Maithilī poet Vidyāpati refers to this drug habit of the god in many places. At the time of marriage Śiva wears the garland rides on his favourite bull, but at the same time, he chews *bhāṅg* continuously. The continuous chewing makes the god tipsy who, quite inadvertently, breaks the *maṅgala-ghaṭa* (auspicious jar) to be used in the marriage.[401]

Vidyāpati's Menakā says that her husband has chosen a

hāsi hāsi utarol ādha ādhaādha bol
na-nna-nandī ā-ā-ā-ān-nna-nakul //

398. *Ibid.*, p. 138 :
tamaguṇī Śiva tāre ki baliba
matta bhāṅg dhaturāy /

399. *Sāhitya Parishat Patrikā*, B.S. 1302, p. 329.

400. Tulasīdāsa, *Pārvatīmaṅgala*, v. 51 :
bhāṅg dhatur āhār chhār lapaṭavahiṅ /
yogī jaṭil sarosh bhog nahiṅ bhavahiṅ //

401. Mathur, *Padāvalī* (Hindi), poem Vo. 244, p. 246 :
ṭapara ṭapara kara vasaha āvala
khaṭara khaṭara ruṇḍamāl /
bhakara bhakara Śiva bhāṅg bhakosathi
ḍamaru lela kara lāy //
aipana meṅṭala purahara phoḍala
bara kimi chanmukha dīpa //

wrong match for their daughter. She is surprised to find that the bridegroom has an old bull, a drum and a bag containing *bhāṅg* as his only property. In this connection, it is interesting to note the attitude of the poet towards the god. He says that, although the god does not possess anything there is no greater charitable person than he. In another poem, Gaurī waits impatiently for her husband's return and says to her companions that she has ground *bhāṅg* for her husband and awaits his return.[402] This reference shows that Gaurī knows it fully well that her husband's most favourite food is *bhāṅg*. In another place, Vidyāpati associates the drug with the god in the form of an ascetic as if hemp-smoking is an inherent characteristic of an ascetic. With this impression in mind, the poet infuses a spirit of sacrifice in the god and says that when the whole world is fed by him with well-cooked food he himself lives only on *bhāṅg* and *dhaturā*.[403] Does the Maithilī poet mean by this remark, that *bhāṅg* and *dhaturā* are the symbols of renunciation or does he merely refer to the god's magnanimity ? In many other poems also the poet speaks about the drug habit of the god.[404] In one poem he comes as guest exhibiting his habit

402. Mathur, *op.cit.*, poem No. 237.
403. *Ibid.*, poem No. 136 :

sabkiñ kheyābe Bholā pāñch pāk banvā
āp khāy bhāṅg dhaturvā ||

404. Majumdar, S. C., *Vidyāpatir Śivagīta*, p. 28 :

katae gelā mor buḍhvā jatī |
pīsala bhāṅg rahala sei gatī ||

(poem No. 237, 11.1-2)

(Pārvatī says) where has gone my old ascetic ? I have ground *bhāṅg* and am waiting for him.

basahā chaḍhala Śiva phirahu masān |
bhāgiyā jaraṭha darado nahi jān ||

(poem No. 239, 11.4-5)

Śiva, riding on the bull, moves about in the cremation ground. He does not feel any pain because he takes *bhāṅg*. That is, he who takes *bhāṅg*

of taking *dhaturā* and *bhāṅg* at intervals. Vidyāpati says that the god has a liking also for *gāñjā*, a reference to which cannot be found in any early or medieval Śaiva work. The god does not like to take sweetened milk and feels happy to smoke *gāñjā*.[405] He comes riding on his old bull and prefers *dhaturā* and *gāñjā* to other kinds of food. Although in older works *gāñjā* has not ben mentioned as a favourite drug of the god, in many folk-songs of the present time he has association with *gāñjā*. It may be that the technique of preparing *gāñjā* to make it suitable for smoking was not properly known in ancient days.[406]

or *siddhi* or *surā* forgets pain because of the exhilarating effect which the drug produces in the mind.

bhakara bhakara je bhāṅg bhakosathi |
chhaṭara paṭara karu gāl ||

(poem No. 233, ll. 9-10)

He takes *bhāṅg* continuously and is always found chewing the drug.

yadi jogiyā ke bhāṅg bhulailaka |
dhaturā khoāi dhan lela ||

(poem No. 246, ll. 5-6)

If by taking *bhāṅg* the ascetic god has forgotten everything, by taking *dhaturā* he has lost all his wealth.

jogiyā bhāṅgḍā khāila bhelā raṅgiyā |
bholā bauḍalabā ||

(poem No. 247, ll. 1-2)

By taking *bhāṅg* the ascetic god is intoxicated and forgets everything.

bīs bhujā das māth chaḍhāoli |
bhāṅg dihala bhar gāl, ge māi ||

(poem No. 248, ll. 1-2)

Oh mother, when Rāvaṇa, with ten heads, offers *bhāṅg* to the god with his twenty hands, the latter takes all the drug easily.

405. *Ibid.*, p. 37 :

khiri nā khāy, Hara chukti gajāy |
eha Umāka kon joṭala jamāy ||
basaha chaḍhala Śiva būḍha āve |
dhathura gajāy bhajan huni bhāve ||

406. *Sāhitya Parishat Patrikā*, B.S. 1301, p. 199 :

tālgāchh kāṭum rasik vāṭum Gaurī ela jhi |
tor kapāle buḍā var āmi karba ki ||

In this connection, it is interesting to note the remark made by a scholar that Śiva drinks *hāṭaka* (*śvarṇa*) juice in the *Śrīmadbhagavad-gītā* and the favourite drink of Śiva's followers is *tāḍī* (toddy) or *siddhi* which, in the Tāntric works, is transformed into *gāñjā*.[407] In a modern poem, Himālaya is seen to give Śiva, his son-in-law, a few *siddhi* tablets which are readily accepted by Śiva.[408] In the Tāntric works the god attains *siddhi* (emancipation) through a Koch woman as his concubine.[409] The meaning of *siddhi* (emancipation) was later changed to intoxicant *bhāṅg* and, as has been stated above, in the tāntric works to the intoxicant *gāñjā*. *Dhaturā* is also found to be a great favourite of Śiva. Possibly, *dhaturā*, having an intoxicating effect, is also liked by the god.[410]

āṅkā bheṅge śāṅkā dilum kāne madan kaḍi |
biyer belāy dekhe elum buḍo chāpḍāḍi ||
chokh khāogo bāp mā chokh khāogo khuḍo |
eman varke biye diyechhile tāmāk khego buḍo ||
buḍor hūnko gela bhese, buḍo mare keśe |
neḍe cheḍe dekhi buḍo mare rayechhe |
phen gālbār samay buḍo neche uṭhechhe ||

This is a local *chhaḍā* (doggeral verse) and is very interesting. Gaurī is unfortunate to get an old bearded husband. She is more unfortunate because the bridegroom is addicted to tobacco (*tāmāk*). It is but natural that by constantly smoking tobacco he cannot control coughing. The description is specially interesting because in it we find Śiva smoking tobacco.

407. Bandyopadhyay, C., *Chaṇḍīmaṅgala-bodhinī*, pt. I, p. 49.

408. *Sāhitya Parishat Patrikā*, 1310 B.S., p. 107.

The *siddhi* tablet has another interesting reference in Jāyasī's *Padmāvat*. There Śiva gives *siddhi* tablets (*siddhi-guṭikā*) to Ratansen so that the latter, by the magic power of the tablets, may succeed in winning over his beloved, Padmāvatī (Jāyasī's *Padmāvat* in *Jāyasī granthāvalī*, ed. Ramachandra Shukl, p. 81). See also *Kāśīdāsī Mahābhārata* (Bāṅgabāsī' 2nd ed.), 11.23—*amṛite ki kāj jār bhakshya siddhiguli* and *Durgāpañcharātri* (p. 90)—*siddhigolā hāte.*

409. *Saktikāgama-Sarvasva-tantra*, 66-82.

410. *Bhavishya-purāṇa*, 2, 45 :

dhaturakaiścha yo liṅgaṁ sakṛit pūjayā naraḥ |
sa golakshaphalaṁ prāpya śivoloke mahiyate ||

In an unpublished work of the 18th century Śiva's addiction to the drug is mentioned. It says that when Pārvatī (in this work called Chaṇḍī) goes for penance Śiva appears and tests her sincerity in devotion. This topic has been discussed in other works as well. Śiva says to Chaṇḍī that the god, for whom she is meditating, is a hemp-smoker and has a strong liking for *bhāṅg* and *dhaturā.* Wearing a garland of bones and tiger-skin he moves about throughout the day riding on a bull and takes *bhāṅg* and *dhaturā*, a bag of which he always carries on his shoulder. In the *maṅgala* works, we find that Chaṇḍī herself calls Śiva *bhāṅgaḍ* and abuses by calling him so ; but in this work, Chaṇḍī, on hearing the remark from Śiva himself, becomes angry and turns round her face.[411]

In the *Manasāmaṅgala* of Vijayagupta when Śiva becomes eager to make love with a *ḍomnī* (wife of dom), he is charged by his wife Chaṇḍī who disguises herself as a *ḍomnī.* Chaṇḍī does not hesitate to take her husband to task. It is interesting to note that when Chaṇḍī, in anger, scolds her husband she can only think that the latter is a hemp-smoker and from her remarks it seems that she feels herself small to get such a husband.[412] Jagajjivana in his *Manasāmaṅgala* does not fail to mention the god's addiction to this narcotic drug. Here Durgā, the other name of Chaṇḍi or Pārvatī, abuses Śiva by saying that she does not like such a husband who goes to Koch women and begs *bhāṅg* and *dhaturā.* But even then the god stays with a Koch dancing girl and takes *bhāṅg*

411. The term *bhāṅgaḍ* = *bhāṅg ḍa*, here *ḍa*, means an expert (*daksha* or *daḍa*) i.e., one who is expert (addicted to) in (taking) hemp. Cf. *Chaṇḍī bale sona gosāñi jaṭiyā bhāṅgeḍā* (See C. Bandyopadhyay, *Chaṇḍīmaṅgala-bodhinī*, pt. II, p. 205).

412. Vijayagupta, *Manasāmaṅgala*, p. 106 :

hāte hāte kachāle devī dante kaḍmaḍ |
ati kope bale devī, "Kshe jāre bhāṅgaḍ ||
kon deva haiyā re je se khāy bhāṅg |
kon deva haiyā re je se mastake dhare gāṅg ||

continuously.[413] In another place, the same poet says that *dhaturā* and *siddhi* are so much favoured by the god that he, who worships him with these drugs with a sincere heart, gets his desire fulfilled instantly. In another place of this work, Śiva asks Chaṇḍī, who is in the guise of a *ḍomnī*, to make love with him. He makes fun with Chaṇḍī under the influence of *bhāṅg*. The god, under the spell of the drug, loses control over himself and behaves with Chaṇḍī in a most indescent way.[414]

In the *Rāmāyaṇa* of Kṛittivāsa, the king Sagara gets annoyed with Śiva when Sumati, his wife, through the latter's grace, gives birth to a skin-gourd. Sagara, in anger, abuses Śiva and calls him a *bhāṅgaḍ*, i.e., one who is addicted to hemp. That is to say, the king, at this stage, can not think of any other name of the god but that one which refers to his addiction to hemp. Later however, when the king tears off the gourd in anger sixty thousand sons come out and Sagara becomes happy.[415]

413. Jagajjīvana, *Manasāmāṅgala*, p. 299.

414. *Ibid.*, p. 204:

bhāṅg dhaturā ār nim kālakūṭ /
haste karyā Mahādeva khāila ekmuṭh //
bhāṅger kheyāle Śiva bholā hae jāy /
ḍāḍ diā jal dila ḍomnīr gāy //

415. Kṛittivāsa, *Saptakāṇḍa Rāmāyaṇa* (Bengali ed., Akshay Library), p. 31:

Sumati garbha-vyathā haila jakhan /
charmer alābu ek prasabe takhan //
dekhiyā alābu rājā kupilā antare /
bhāṅgaḍ baliā gāli dila Maheśvare //
kope lāu bhāṅgiyā karila khān khān /
shāṭi hājār putra haila tiler pramāṇ //

DICER

Śiva is also presented as dicer in many works. From the available sources it becomes apparent that dice are of great antiquity.[416] Like horse-racing, the Vedie Aryans were extremely fond of dice-playing. The word *aksha*, meaning dice, frequently occurs in the *Ṛigveda*.[417] The dice, in the Ṛigvedic age, appears to have been made of *Vibhidaka* nuts and hence are called *babhru* (brown) on account of their colour.[418] The dicer in the *Ṛigveda* is described as *Senānin mahata gaṇasya* (leader of a great horde) and the number of dice is given as *tri-panchāśaḥ*.[419] The materials of this game and its dreadful consequence have also been referred to in the *Ṛigveda*.[420] According to the *Smṛitis* and *Purāṇas*, this game is to be played on all special occasions and festivals.[421] The *sabhā* or public assembly hall was used for dice-play,

416 *Worldscope Encyclopaedia*, vol. VI, pp. 492-96.

Dice have been found in tombs and ruins of ancient Egypt (earlier than 2000 B.C.) and Babylon in the same form as those used today. They have also been found in the Harappan sites of c. 2500 B.C. (now in the collection of the Indian Museum, Calcutta) and in Chinese excavations dated 600 B.C. Dice-playing is mentioned in Homer's *Iliad*. It was very populer in Greece and Rome. The Romans call their dice '*tessarae*' and used four dice together. The best throw was a *venus*, four sixes sometimes 1, 3, 4 and 6 ; the lowest was a *canis* (dog), four aces. The first use of dice may have been for religious purposes (divination) and for lottery. In India, during the Vedic age, the throw was called *graha* or *grābha* (*RV*, 1.92.10).

See also *ERE*, vol. IV, pp. 779, 787 ; Macdonell and Keith, *Vedic Index*, Vol. I, pp. 2-5 ; *Nelson's Encyclopaedia*, p. 140 ; *According to Hoyle* by R. L. Frey, pp. 214-215.

417. *RV*, 7.86.6.
418. *Ibid.*, 10.34.1.
419. *Ibid.*, 10.34.5.
420. *Ibid.*, 10.34.2.
421. *Manusmṛiti*, 4.2. ; *Vāyu-purāṇa*, 14.20,

especially when the assembly was not transacting any public business.[422] In later Vedic literature, a dicer is called *Sabhāsthāṇu* (pillar of the Assembly Hall).[423] Widows visit the dicing-hall with a view to gain wealth by gambling.[424] In the *Mahābhārata* we see that Yudhishṭhira has a weakness for gambling, and Śakuni, the maternal uncle of Duryodhana, is noted for his skill in the game of dice. Duryodhana sends out a challenge to Yudhishṭhira to play at dice with him. In those days deciding the fate of kingdom by the throw of dice was the recognised form of contest between kings, and Yudhishṭhira cannot refuse to accept the challenge. The result of acceptance of this challenge is known to all of us.

The *Vāmana-purāṇa* says that Śiva embraces the life of a beggar when he loses everything in a dice-play with Pārvatī.[425] In the *Chaṇḍīmaṅgala* of Mukundarāma a separate section is devoted to narrate the dice play of Śiva and Pārvatī. After the marriage is over, Śiva sits with his bride and asks his attendant to bring the dice-board and the dyes.[426] Before starting the game Śiva, like a common dicer, asks Pārvatī for a pledge. Pārvatī says that, in case of defeat, she will part with all her ornaments. Śiva does not want to commit anything when Pārvatī enquires as to what should be his pledge. The god says that it is the luck which decides the fate of a dicer and she should not be impatient to enforce any pledge. At this Pārvatī also, like an expert player, replies that unless there is the question of a bet the game does not appear to be interesting. Then Śiva says that he has only a bag containing *siddhi* which he can put on stake. Thus decided, the game starts and both Śiva and Pārvatī try their luck with dyes of diamond. In the end, Śiva is

422. *RV*, 10.34.8.

423. *Vājasaneyi-saṁhitā*, 30.18 ; *Taittirīya-brāhmaṇa*, 3.4.16.

424. *Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa*, 8.34.

425. 10.34-36.

426 Cf. Pl. No. XI. The photograph is from a calendar collected by the author from a street-corner at Calcutta.

defeated and gives away his tiger-skin and the satchel. But as the competition is between a husband and a wife and is absolutely domestic in character, both Śiva and Pārvatī are seen, in the closing lines of the poem, to leave the game and sit down for meals. The poet says that after all neither of the two is separated from the other.[427]

In the same way Śiva asks Pārvatī to play dice in the *Śivāyana* of Rāmakrishṇa Kavichandra.[428] Rāmakrishṇa's Pārvatī, like the Pārvatī of Mukundarāma, does not feel at home when she sits down with her husband for playing dice. Here Pārvatī likes to see her husband as a stern ascetic detached from all earthly pleasures. She is rather ashamed to

427. Mukundarāma, *op.cit.*, p. 109 :

bale trinayanī jadi hāri āmi
gāyer bhushaṇ diba /
yadyapi kheliba kaha sadāśiva
tomār ki dhan pāba //
* * *
kathāy nā jāy Gaurī dhan chāy
hāsiyā balen Śūlī /
śuna mor paṇ āchhe je bā dhan
nibe to siddhir jhuli //
Maheś Śaṅkarī khele pāśā sāri
rachiyā hīrār ḍhāl /
basiyā khelite lāgila kahite
sākshī haio Mahākāl //
* * *
hārila Śaṅkar deva digambar
chhāḍi dila bāghchhāl //
pāśā chhāḍi jān karila bhojan
duhe kabhu bhinna nahe /

[See also the opening verse of the Gauhāṭi Grant of Indrapāla ; for reference see Barua, B. K., *A Cultural History of Assam (Early period)*, pp. 164-65].

428. *Op.cit.*, p. 209 :

prabhu bale paṇ kari khela dekhi pāśā /
bimukhe basiyā devī kahe khāṇḍ bhāshā //

See also Majumdar, S. C., *Vidyāpatir Śivagīta*, poem no. 37 ; Bhattacharyya, S. B., *Chaṇḍīmaṅgala*, p. 113.

see the god in jovial mood and hesitates to play dice with him.

In Tulasīdāsa's work, we get reference to the dice-play when Śiva comes to marry. Before the marriage, the women-folk of Himālaya's house invite Pārvatī to play dice with them. They become sorry to find an old bridegroom for their young companion and curse Menakā. But, Śiva is happy because these women will not have the chance to abuse him as he has no parents. This description seems to allude to a local custom relating to marriage prevalent in the region where the poet lived.[429]

429. Tulasīdāsa, *op.cit.*, p. 37 :

juā khelāvata gāri dehiṅ giri nārihi /
āpani or nihāri pramod purārihi //

In this connection, it may be mentioned that in the Muslim marriage of Chittagong a song called *jhulnā* is sung, alongwith which the parties of both the bride and the bridegroom play dice (*Vaṅgīya Sāhitya Parishat Patrikā*, 1310 B.S., p. 153).

PATRON OF ART

In the various works mentioned above, Śiva is presented also as a patron of art and letters. The *Mahābhārata* mentions him as a preceptor (*guru*).[430] He is supposed to be the author of the treatise called *Vaiśālāksha* which gets its name from his epithet, Viśālāksha.[431] It is Brahmā who first brings *Daṇḍanīti* or the science of polity. When Brahmā composed the *Daṇḍanīti*, it was a voluminous work which was later shortened by Śiva in ten thousand chapters.[432] It is to Śiva that legend ascribes the origin of grammar. The first fourteen *sūtras* of Pāṇini's grammar, which supply the basis of his terminology, are regarded as revealed by Śiva, and are, therefore, called *Śivasūtra*. From the above references it becomes apparent that the authorship of many works is ascribed to Śiva. In the *Meghadūta*, *Kumārasambhava*, *Mṛichhakaṭika*, *Mālatīmādhava* and *Mālavikāgnimitra* Śiva's scholastic quality can be noticed. This influence can be seen also in other works like the *Kathāsaritsāgara* which opens with a dialogue between Śiva and Pārvatī. The god is here depicted as a possesor of great knowledge and a man of letters. The same idea is noticed in the *Āgamagranthas* relating to the post-Chaitanya *Sahajiyā* cult in Bengal. The

430. *Mahābhārata*, 7.2.15, 78.

431. *Ibid.*, 7.12.58, 59.

432. According to D. R. Bhandarkar, this treatise deals not only objects of worldly life, *viz.*, *dharma* (performance of religious rites), *artha* (accumulation of wealth) and *kāma* (gratification of sensual desires), but also of *moksha* (final beatitude). See *Carmichael Lectures*, 1918, pp. 92-93.

Śiva is also known as the creator of *Veda*. Sāyana, the great commentator on the *Ṛigveda*, in the opening prayer to Śiva (identified with the supreme spirit), asserts that the *Veda* is his breath (*uchhvasitam*). See M. Williams, *Religious Thought and Life in India*, p. 78 note.

manuscript of a work on this cult is written in the form of a dialogue between Śiva and his spouse.[433] In this work, Śiva's answers to Pārvatī's queries on the worship of Rādhā and Krishṇa exhibit great prudence. He says that Rādhā and Krishṇa should not be considered as separate entities. He explains that the two (Rādhā and Krishṇa) in union form an undivided whole and cannot be separated. Pārvatī, not fully satisfied with the explanation, asks him again that, if Rādhā and Krishṇa in the unified form are Pūrṇa-Brahma, why then do men worship various gods instead of taking refuge solely in them. Śiva replies that he is himself responsible for creating this difference.

In the commentaries of the *Ṛik-saṁhitā* and the *Taittirīya-saṁhitā*, Sāyaṇa and Mādhava refer to the great knowledge of Śiva in the *maṅgalācharaṇa*. They pay their reverence to Śiva who is stated to be the abode of sacred knowledge and the creator of the Vedas which form the whole universe.[434] The great epic says, in one place, that it is Śiva who inspires authors of books aud *sūtras*.[435] He represents art and literature and imparts knowledge of the *kalās* to Garga.[436] He inspires the artists and is called *sarvaśilpa-pravartaka*.[437]

In the *Mahādeva-vandanā* section of the *Chaṇḍīmaṅgala*, Mukundarāma presents Śiva as the giver of the four Vedas

433. *Calcutta University Ms.* No. 1144, written in Bengali in the *payāra chhanda.* The date of its composition as known from the colophon is 1075 B.S. (1668 A.D.) and the author's name is given only as *Yugaler dāsa.*

434. Muir, *op.cit.*, vol. II, pp. 16-17.

435. *Mahābhārata*, 3.13. 18-19.

436. *Ibid.*, 3.13. 76.

437. *Ibid.*, 3.12.148, 285.

In this connection it is interesting to note that in a door lintel depicting Noḷamba sculptures we find that the top panel is composed of Śiva as Dakshiṇamūrti with the book in the left hand and the other attributes in the other hands with four sages at his feet listening with rapt attention to his exposition in silence. See C. Śivarāmamūrti, *Nolamba sculptures in the Madras Government Museum*, p. 21.

and says that it is this god who taught to the sages and seers of the past the principles of the different Vedas. In describing Śiva's knowledge the poet is, at the same time, conscious of the great qualities of Vishṇu and, like many others, he wants to bring a compromise between the two. His Śiva, therefore, sings in praise of Vishṇu by playing on his flute and drum. But the poet asserts Śiva's greatness and says that, in all the four ages, he is to be worshipped by all other gods as well as by men and demons.[438]

In the *Annadāmaṅgala*, Śiva is supposed to be wiser than his fellow gods like Brahmā and Vishṇu because it is only he who can recognise the creator in the guise of a decomposed dead body.[439]

Dvija Mādhava in his *Maṅgalachaṇḍī-gīta* presents Śiva as a teacher when the latter says to Nīlāmbar, one of his devotees, that he himself will teach him the Tāntric doctrine. Nīlāmbar goes to Śiva for learning the *mṛityuñjaya-vidyā*, i.e., the knowledge by which death can be avoided. Śiva says that for acquiring this knowledge Nīlāmbar will have to

438. Mukundarāma, *op.cit.*, p. 7 :

rāga tāna māna bheda sange kari chāri veda
vadane nāchaye jār vāṇī /
śṛinge Rāma dhvani kari ḍambur bolaye Hari
jār gāne hailā mandakinī //
paridhān bāghchhāl saghane bājān gāl
Kṛishṇaguṇe sadā āmodita /
satya ādi chār yuge Śiver archanā āge
deva-nara-asura-pūjita //

439. Bhāratachandra, *op.cit.*, p. 22 :

vidhir bujhiā sattva
Śiver jānite tattva
Śiva ange lāgila bhāsiā
Śiva jñānī ghṛiṇā nāi
basite haila ṭhāin
jatne dhari basilā chāpiā //

The idea is based on mythology and is found in the *Mahābhārata* (4.12 ; 6.28-32) and Purāṇas (*Skanda-purāṇa*, 2.38).

learn first the art of choosing flowers (*pushpa-chayana*). Nīlāmbar hesitates and is thereupon cursed by the god. As a result of this curse, he has to take birth on the earth as Kālaketu and has to undergo a long penance. The god, however, consoles his devotee by saying that he will be able to fulfil his cherished desire on the expiry of the curse. The way in which Śiva is presented here shows that he is well versed in Tāntricism. He knows the six *chakras* in the human body and explains to Nīlāmbar the various aspects of the Tantra.[440]

In the *Govindachandra-gīta*, Śiva is presented as the *jñāna-guru*, i.e., one who initiates people into true knowledge. Here the god is supposed to be the possessor of miraculous knowledge which he imparts to *Māṇikchānd*. The said knowledge is associated with magic power and, by acquiring it, Māṇikchānd rejoins all the branches, previously cut into pieces.[441]

440. Dvija Mādhava, *op.cit.*, ed. Sudhibhushan Bhattacharyya, pp. 111-12 :

> *śuna śuna kahi tattva āe Nīlāmbara |*
> *āpana śarīr chinta haite amara ||*
> *sushumnā pradhān nāḍi śarīr madhye base |*
> *iṅgala piṅgala tār baise dui pāśe ||*
> *joār bhāṭi bahe tāte ati kharasān |*
> *bhāṭi bandi kariyā joāre divā ṭān ||*

According to the Tāntric literature, there are three and half crores of nerves in the human body. Among these, fourteen are called principal, of which again, three (*īḍā*, *piṅgala* and *sushumnā*) are the chief and among the three *sushumnā* is the greatest. There are six *chakras* in the human body. *Mūlādhāra* is a triangular space in the middle. It is described as a red lotus of four petals, situated between the base of the sexual organ and the anus. *Svādhishṭhāna* is a six-petalled lotus at the base of the sexual organ, above *mūlādhāra* and below the navel. *Maṇipura* is at the navel, it has ten petals. *Anāhata* is in the breast, it has twelve petals, while *Ajñāna* is at the brow with two petals. Above all is the *Sahasrāra* with thousand petals. See *Journal of the Department of Letters*, vol. XVI, 1927, pp. 89-95.

441. *Sāhitya Parishat Patrikā*, 1327 B.S., p. 163.

According to the Buddhist works, such miraculous knowledge

As a teacher of art, Śiva is skilled in dance and music.[442] His fondness for dance and music is described in the *Mahābhārata*.[443] Bharata, in his *Nāṭyaśāstra*, ascribes to him and his spouse the invention respectively of the *tāṇḍava* and *lāsya*, the violent and tender forms of dance.[444]

Legends say that Brahmā, who compiled the first treatise as the dramatic art, once asked Bharata to prepare for the staging of a play entitled *Amṛitamanthana* which he (Brahmā) had composed. Accompanied by Bharata as well as other gods, Brahmā goes to the Himalayas, the abode of Śiva, to see this play staged before Śiva. Śiva is pleased to see the

is called *prajñāpāramitā* (transcendental wisdom). Queen Mainamatī wants to teach her husband, Māṇikchānd, the same knowledge which is stated to be of only two and half letters, possibly the letters *a*, *u*, and *m*, the last of them having the half of the full *m* sound. The combination of these two and half letters give the sound of *Om*, the *praṇava*. In this connection, one of Kabīrdāsa's *dohās* is worth mentioning. It says *pothā paḍhi paḍhi jag merā paṇḍit bhayo na koī, ḍhāi akshar parem kā jo paḍhe so paṇḍit hoī* (*Bījak*. Dohā No. 24), *i.e.*, by reading volumes of books one cannot become a Paṇḍit but by learning the implication of the word *parem* (composed of two and half letters) one can become a real Paṇḍit. According to the poet the highest knowledge (i.e., the efficacy of man's life) can be acquired by the way of love (*prem-mārg*) i e., by loving all beings, great and small. Love being the essence of life, man is born from love, he lives on love and dies in love.

442. An interesting reference to Śiva's skill in art is made by Rāmakṛishṇa (*op.cit.*, p. 148) who says that seeing Śiva embarrassed in the midst of women, the snake-daughter Chitrakaṇṭhā asked him as to why a teacher, like him, who is an expert in 64 arts, should be so much perplexed.

443. 12.50, 117 :

nṛityapriyo nṛityarato nartakaḥ sarvalālasaḥ mahānṛitya /

444. Another kind of dance sacred to Śiva is known as *Koḍukoṭṭi* in Tamil or merely *koṭṭi*. Here Śiva is said to have danced with Umā in the *Ardhanārīśvara* form. See *Śilappadikāram*, tr. V. R. R. Dikshittar, vv. 67-77. See also *Śiva Pradosha stotra* (19-42) and *Kathāsaritsāgara* (4.21) and Gopinātha Rao, *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, vol. II, pt. II, pp. 230-69.

performance and suggests that the dance which he knows should be added to it. Brahmā then requests Śiva to instruct Bharata about this art. Śiva calls upon Taṇḍu, the eponymous author of the *tāṇḍava* dance, to come to Bharata's help. From him Bharata learns the various *karaṇas* and *aṅgahāras* which are included in the *tāṇḍava* dance by Śiva.[445]

445. *Mahābhārata*, 12.52, 128-151.

As Naṭarāja he performs his cosmic dance (known as *tāṇḍava*) of five movements—creation, preservation, destruction, reincarnation, or illusion and salvation or ultimate release (*nirvāṇa*). With these movements he converts into rhythm the essential doctrines of Hindu mystic philosophy.

Another dance commemorates his humorous contest with his consort, Kālī, the goddess of destruction. Śiva wins by raising one of his legs to the level of his head, a feat which Kālī is too modest to emulate. This dance is called *ūrdhva-tāṇḍava*. The god uses the *tāṇḍava*, virile style, and often gestures with the *patākā* hand (a kind of *mudrā*), which he borrows from Brahmā and *tripatākā* which he himself introduced. His dances are represented in Hindu as well as Cambodian art. In sculptural representation he is shown surrounded by a circle of fire, the vital principle, and with four arms.

In his cosmic dance, Śiva combats evil. Underneath his left foot lies a dwarf (symbol of evil) called *mūlyaka*. The figure is also known as *apasmāra* (time from Skt. *smaraṇ*). Śiva is the Mahākāla (the great time or eternity or the ageless) and dances on Kāla (the time), allowing Kāla (also representing the individual soul) the final release as shown from the attitude of his lower hand, which is in *vara* (blessing) *mudrā*. In the upper two hands he holds *ḍamaru* (symbol of creation) and *agni* (symbol of destruction) and the lower right hand is in *abhaya* (symbol of protection) *mudrā*. See the figure of Naṭarāja (No. A 9983) in Indian Museum collection (Pl. No. XII).

And thus as *Naṭarāja* Śiva is the creator, preserver and destroyer—the idea of trinity of Hindu philosophy being presented in one single figure. When the god performs the *tāṇḍava* dance he forgets everything, even his own self; this idea has been well expressed by Tagore in the following lines :

pralay nāchan nāchle jakhan āpan bhule
he naṭarāj, jaṭār bādhan paḍla khule |

In the *Śivāyana,* we see Śiva dancing when he goes to marry Pārvatī. The way in which the poet described the dance of the god on the occasion reveals that the god is an arch-dancer and that being overwhelmed with joy for the life in wedlock he has practically lost himself. He sings and dances to his heart's content. People of all ages come out from their houses to see his ecstatic dance and to listen to his enchanting music. As the god passes by, the people offer gifts to him ; but he only sings and dances without caring for the gifts. The names of Vishṇu are on his lips and the sound of his kettle-drum is heard. When Menakā comes before him, he says that now she should give away her daughter to him.[446]

The most remarkable feature of the above legend is that Śiva is here given the most honourable place. Brahmā together with other gods condescends to wait upon Śiva in his residence, obviously for his approbation of the new dramatic creation as well as for any other instruction that Śiva is only capable of giving for its improvement. That is to say, Śiva is here represented as an expert in the art of dance from which drama has originated. In comparison with the exalted position of Śiva in the legend, Brahmā occupies rather a position of secondary importance. Śiva is connected with the origin of drama (*nāṭya*) and his later epithet, Naṭarāja (the king of dance or drama), strengthens his claim very much in this respect.[447]

446. Rāmakrishṇa Kavichandra, *op.cit.*, pp. 100-01 :
ḍampha ḍamaru bāje pinākar dhvani /
nānā range bāje simhanād śuni //
gālbādya tāl dhare pāy goḍatāli /
ṭishir nagare Hara pātila dhāmāli //
dān nāin māge yogī nāche angabhange /
uttar sādhak chelā nāhi keha sange //
prakāś karila Hara Gaurī kare jhi /
kanyā dān kara mātā ār dān ki //

447. *Indian Historical Quarterly,* No. 34, 1956, pp. 109-11.
Schroeder thinks that the origin of the Indian drama has

Coming back to the subject that Śiva is the possessor of great knowledge, we see that he knows the secret of *yoga.* Matsyendranātha, the preceptor of Gorakshanātha, in the form of a fish, receives this knowledge from Śiva and Pārvatī.[448] He later forgets this knowledge in the land of women (*strī-rājya*) as a result of the curse of Gaurī, and is brought back by his disciple, Goraksha.

to be largely attributed to the Śaiva cult (*Mysterium und Mimus im Rigveda*, p. 17).

According to Vātsyāyana, the author of the *Kāmasūtra*, the *abhinaya-kalā* or dramatic art is included in the group of *nṛityakalā* (*Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art*, 1933, vol. I, p. 179). The division of *nāṭyakalā* into *nāṭya* and *anāṭya* is suggested by Yośodhara (*ibid.*, p. 182) who must have followed the *kāmasūtra* tradition. The dance of professional artists and dancers is known as *anāṭya nṛitya.* Yośadhara says, *svarge vā martyaloke vā pātāle vā nivāsinām kṛitānukaraṇaṁ nāṭyam anāṭyaṁ nartakāśritam.* The dance of the male artist is called *tāṇḍava nṛitya*, whereas that of the female is *lāsya nṛitya.* As it has already been seen, Śiva is originally the planner of *tāṇḍava nṛitya*, and therefore he is often called *Naṭarāja* or *Naṭeśa* or *Naṭanātha.* In different forms of temple anchitecture available throughout India and also in many types of sculptures, innumerable forms or images of Śiva as *Naṭarāja* or Dancing Śiva can be found even today. For the symbolism lying behind the dancing figure of Śiva (which has been explained before) and for the iconographic composition, the *Naṭarāja* form of Śiva is very popular and important. In the southern part of the country, the god is found, in sculpture, to dance on a dwarf, while in the north he dances on his bull, Nandī. It is said that Śiva first gave the lessons of dancing to his most favourite disciple, Nandī, and that another name of Nandī is Taṇḍu.

448. Dwivedi, H. P., *Nātha Sampradāya* (in Hindi), p. 28.

The *yoginī kaula* of Matsyendranātha refers to the worship of mystic circles at the centre of which there is Śiva, omnipotent, immovable and unqualified. The sixty-four *yoginīs* are most probably, so many angles representing the equal number of manifestations of Śakti embracing Śiva (cf. the object of devotion of the Kāpālikas). The *yoginīs* have their temples in India. They are at Khajurāho (in Bundelkhand), at Bherāghāṭ (in north Madhya Pradesh), at Rāṇipur Jherial (in Orissa), at Sārada (in Orissa) and at Coimbatore (in Madras).

In the Bengali translation of the *Mālatīmādhava*, the god is seen dancing alongwith Nandī. He has practically lost himself in the dance and Nandī beats his drum so loudly that the peacock of Kārttikeya begins to tremble, and the snake-king, out of fear, takes shelter in Gaṇeśa's trunk.[449]

This section shows the god's strong liking for dance and proves that at important moments he expresses his feelings more often by dancing.

449. *Mālatīmādhava*, tr. Jyotirindranath Thakur, Nandi section, p. 52 :

nṛitya kare śūlapāṇi tādhiyā tādhiyā /
mṛidaṅga bājāy Nāndī ānande mātiā //
tāhā śuni ḍāki uṭhe Kārttika-mayure /
phaṇipati bhaye paśe Gaṇapati-suṅde //

LASCIVIOUS IN CHARACTER

Śiva is a god in whom human traits have been juxtaposed. He, like a common man, has in himself a Dr. Jekyll and a Mr. Hyde of R. L. Stevenson.[450] Thus when Śiva is sometimes noble, generous, selfless, disciplined and gracious, he is also, at other times, ignoble, narrow-minded, selfish, unrestrained and even abominable. In other words, the virtues and the vices of human being have been fused in the person of Śiva. Of course, it may be that all his diverse activities are nothing but the ways (*līlā*) of the god. But nevertheless, Śiva appears to be very small when he is characterised with vices. This is more so when he is presented as one who is infatuated with passion very easily and is a sexual pervert.

The lascivious nature of the god is described more by the poets of the *Maṅgala-kāvyas* than by the authors of the *Śivāyanas* and other Śaiva works. In the *Maṅgala-kāvyas* again, the god is humiliated much more by the writers of the *Manasā* and *Chaṇḍīmaṅgalas.* This is because in both these *maṅgala* works the central figure is other than Śiva. In the *Manasāmaṅgala*, Manasā, the serpent goddess, is the one to be glorified and in the *Chaṇḍīmaṅgala* Chaṇḍī, Śiva's *śakti*, is to occupy the supreme position. That is to say, in these *maṅgala* works, two non-Śaivite cults of Manasā and *śakti*, have been preached

450. Robert Louis Stevenson, in his famous novel *Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde*, has discussed the two opposing forces, good and evil, which are inherent in every man. Dr. Jekyll is the symbol of what is good in man and Mr. Hyde represents the evil aspect of man. When Dr. Jekyll prevails, man acts with benevolence, but when Mr. Hyde dominates, he is prone to act maliciously. The novelist shows at the end that the evil (Mr. Hyde) overcomes the good (Dr. Jekyll) beucase man is concerned more, as long as he lives, with the fulfilment of his selfish ends. But at last Mr. Hyde has to die because the author tries to say that crime does not pay.

and a deliberate attempt is, therefore, made to vilify Śiva as morally weak and unprincipled. Quite naturally perhaps, the authors of the *maṅgala* works have thought that unless the importance of the great god Śiva is lessened by some means, Manasā and Chaṇḍī cannot establish themselves. But, the way in which the authors of the *maṅgala* works have ridiculed Śiva's character is not very happy. How could one think that a sage-god like Śiva would make immoral proposal to a *ḍomnī* (Chaṇḍī in disguise) in the forest to offer herself to him? It is embarrassing to think that whenever the ascetic god is in association with a woman or any beautiful object of nature he is intoxicated with passion, the controlling of which is the fundamental quality of asceticism. It is also obnoxious to find that whenever the god beholds a woman he is impatient to enjoy her. From his behaviour we are in doubt as to whether the god is a true ascetic.

Two other gods, Brahmā and Indra, also appear to be weak and indisciplined. As we know from legends, they had to bear the fruit of their shameful acts. Brahmā had to lose his fifth head and one thousand *yonis* appeared on Indra's body. An interesting point to note is that Śiva, like the other two, is not found to commit any immoral act. He acts like a fool who fails to recognise even his own daughter and wife. He makes immoral proposal to them and is later ashamed when their identity is revealed. It is, therefore, apparent that the authors of the *Maṅgala-kāvyas* wanted only to ridicule the god.

In Vijayagupta's *Manasāmaṅgala*, the poet says that while Śiva moves in the forest and sees the beauty of nature around, he becomes passion-intoxicated. He cannot control his sexual hunger and embraces the blooming '*bel*' tree. The god gets discharged and Manasā is born from his seminal fluid which flows down in the nether world. This is, however, a silly representation of a god who burns down the Cupid when the latter comes to rouse passion in him. In describing the weakness of Śiva the poet makes him an easy victim of

passion ond concludes by saying that inscrutable are the ways (*līlā*) of the god.[451]

In the same work Śiva is bewitched by the youth and beauty of Manasā to whom he proposes *gāndharva* marriage without recognising her. He entreats Manasā by saying that although Kārttikeya's mother, i.e., his wife, is at the house he will give her enough comfort. The god goes on that, as Manasā is unmarried, she should have a husband and that in him, who is the lord of the world, she would find the best husband. Here the god is conscious of his lofty position but he is still restless.[452] Padmā curses Śiva when he makes the immoral proposal. She says that when in him the worldly beings find their emancipation, how can he be infatuated with passion and that too by seeing his own daughter.[453]

In the *Chaṇḍīr-chhalanā* section Śiva goes a step further. He asks Chaṇḍī, who is in disguise of a *ḍomnī*, to embrace

451. Vijayagupta, *op.cit.*, p. 7 :
ke bujhe daiver gati je deva sṛishṭir pati
hena Śiva piḍita madan /
kāme vyākul Śiva kātar chañchal jīva
rati rase kare ḍhas mas /
ati kāme haiyā bhol śrīphala-vṛikshe dilā kol
āchambite khasila mahāras //

452. *Ibid.*, pp. 9, 17 :
kanyār rūp yauvan adbhut jena bāsi /
kariyā gandharva biyā laiyā jāiba Kāśi //
tumi akumārī satī avaśya chāhi tomār pati /
tumi rūpavatī āmi viśvapati ki lay tomār mati //

453. *Ibid.*, p. 10 :
kāmabhāve Mahādeva bale anuchit /
lajjāy vikal Padmā śunite kutsit //
Padmā bale, "Bāp, tumi parama kāraṇ /
nā bujhiyā bala kena kutsit vachan //
devāsura yaksha nara ār jata charāchar
tomā haite janmilā saṁsār /
mukti tomār nāme tumio mohit kāme
narapaśu kise lāge ār //

him.[454] In the same section, when Śiva finds Chaṇḍī in the form of a beautiful woman he calls her again and again near him. His behaviour on the occasion does not exhibit any sense of decorum.[455]

In Shasṭhīvara's *Manasāmaṅgala*, the same lascivious nature of the god can be noticed. When Netā says that a beautiful dancer has come to the city, Śiva is crazy to see her. He at once asks Nandī to arrange for a dance performance of that damsel. This dancer is Behulā or Bipulā. When Behulā appears before the public wrapping her youthful body with a fine cloth, Śiva, among all the gods present there, is enchanted with her beauty.[456]

In another place Chaṇḍī herself says that her husband is a base fellow. On the way Śiva meets Chaṇḍī who entreats the former to accompany her. Chaṇḍī is in disguise and as such Śiva cannot realise her identity. When Śiva arrives Chaṇḍī's house there is nobody at the house. Finding Chaṇḍī alone, Śiva tries to molest her. At this behaviour, Chaṇḍī is astonished. She cannot think that her husband, being the god of the gods, can attempt to violate the chastity of

454 *Ibid.*, p. 35 :
bhālamanda jñān nāi buddhi haila kshe /
sadā bale, 'ḍomnī more āliṅgan de //

455. *Ibid.*, p. 35.

456. *Shashṭhīvara, op.cit.*, pp. 230-34 :
Netāy jānāila giyā Śiver gochare /
"apūrva nāchuni āilā nṛitya karibāre" //
nṛitya dekhibār tare Harer gela man /
Nandīke balilā Hare, "āna devagaṇ" //
kshaṇe nānā gīt gāy karṇe nānā tāl bāy
iṅgite kaṭākshe kahe bāt /
Vipulār rūp dekhi sarvadeva haila sukhī
rūp dekhi bhole Bholānāth /
divya vastra paridhān gāye vastra ek khān
añchale nā ghure dui stan /
Vipulār pāne chāiyā mukhete kāpaḍ diyā
kautuke hāsaye devagaṇ //

a woman. She further says that being maddened with passion, Śiva looses all senses and does not hesitate even to take food in a Ḍom's house. It is interesting to note that, Chaṇḍī has a feeling of abhorence towards untouchables, though Śiva is much more generous in this respect.[457]

Vijayagupta in many places of his work refers to the lasciviousness of Śiva. His Chaṇḍī says that she is compelled to abuse her husband because the latter has always a liking for others' wives. Śiva is here so crazy to satisfy his sexual hunger that he leaves home in search of women.[458] Mukundarāma also does not hesitate to point out this weakness of the god. His Durgā, like Vijayagupta's Chaṇḍī, abuses the god by saying that he should be ashamed of his deeds. She is disgusted with her husband and asks him to live with the Koch woman and take *bhāṅg* and *dhaturā*. She says that she will not be sorry if her husband settles in a new life with a Kochnī dancer but that she will pluck off his beard if he tries to come back home.[459] In another varsion of the *Mahādever-bhikshāy-gaman* section, Mukundarāma presents Śiva in a manner which makes one feel that he is not that god to appease whom Pārvatī had to perform austerities and on

457. *Ibid.*, p. 69 :

madane mohita Śiva nāche kutuhale |
śūnya ghare Chaṇḍīre dharite chāhe bale ||

* * *

dever devatā tumi kārya nāhi bhāsa |
paradār lobhe tumi jāti kara nāśa ||
madan-ānande tomār buddhi haila kshe |
khāilā ḍomer anna tore chhoṅbe ke ||

458. Vijayagupta, *op cit.*, p. 12.

459. Mukundarāma, *op.cit.*, p. 297 :

Durgā bale Śiv tor mukhe nāi lāj |
jekhāne sekhāne tumi kara manda kāj ||
Kuñchnīr ghare jāiyā bhāṅg dhatur khāo |
naṭinike laiyā ghar karibāre chāo ||
naṭinike laiyā tumi kara gharbāḍi |
āmār ghare gele upḍāiba dāḍi ||

whose account the well-arranged sacrifice of Daksha was destroyed. Here, he seems to be very familiar with the Koch girls who, seeing him, uncover their breasts. They pull him again and again and make all sorts of fun with him. When the girls curse his old age, Śiva says that he has still the strength of a youth which is wellknown to Gaurī. He further tells them to embrace him so that they can feel the warmth of his youth.[460]

These ideas of Mukundarāma are no less vulgar, so to say, than Śiva himself as presented by the poet. It is strange that a god of Śiva's strength of character should play the part of such a weakling.

In the same way, Bhāratachandra, who has glorified Annadā in his poem *Annadāmaṅgala*, presents the god in some places as an indescent person. Śiva, according to the poet, burns the god of love (passion) to ashes but himself cannot be free from passion-intoxication. The poet says that he is struck by the *pañchaśara* of Cupid and moves about in search of a woman. Seeing the god sick with passion, the *apsarās*, the *kinnarīs* and the *devīs* run away, but Śiva follows them restlessly.[461]

460. *Ibid.*, p. 103 :

eketa koñcher meyyā Harer vāratā peyyā
bhikshā dite āila takhan /
purātan dekhi Hare kāñchali asambare
kuchajuge nā dei vasan //
das pāñch sakhi meli Śiver vasan dhari
keha vā ṭānaye parihāse /
basi kuñchnīr pāśe Śiva nirānanda bhāse
juvatī buḍhāre nāñi vāse //
hyādelo kuñchnī vāmā Gauri bhāla jāne āmā
kivā juvā nahalī jauvan /
jāniā nā jāne je ki kāje nā āne bhaje
jāni jadi deha āliṅgan //

461. Bhāratachadra, *op.cit.*, p. 88 ; Bandyopadhyay, C. *Kavikaṅkaṇa-Chaṇḍī-bodhinī*, pt. 1, p. 189 :

marila madan tabu Pañchānan
mohita tāhār vāne /

In the *Manasāmaṅgala* of Jagajjīvanarāma, we can notice this peculiar nature of the god. He is excited at the sight of a heavenly damsel passing by in front of him. Seeing the damsel, the god remembers his own wife and emits seminal fluid. And Manasā is born as a result. Here Śiva is underestimated and the episode of the birth of the snake-goddess is also peculiar.[462] The same poet says that Śiva exposes his passion when Durgā, in the guise of a milkmaid, appears before him. He holds Durgā by hand, makes her sit on his lap and passes the night in her company. In the morning, he takes leave of her and gives his blunt chopper as a mark of his remembrance. From this union Gaṇeśa is born. In another place, Pārvatī is advised by Gaṅgā to take the form of a Koch woman.[463] On seeing a Koch woman, Śiva is enamoured and pursuades her to embrace him. He spends the whole night with her. In the morning, the Kochnī, before leaving the place, begs from Śiva his ring as a token of his love for her. From this union Kārttika is born to Pārvatī.[464]

These three incidents relate to the birth of Manasā, Gaṇeśa and Kārttika. It will be seen that the manner in

vikal hayyā nārī tapasiyā
phiren sakal sthāne //
kāme matta Hara dekhiyā, apsara
kinnarī devī sakal /
āy pālāiyā, paśchāte tāḍiyā
phiren Śiva chañchal //

462. Jagajjīvanarāma, *Manasāmaṅgala*, p. 21 :
kanyā dekhi Trilochan madane vikal man
Pārvatī paḍila tabe mane /
vīrya skhalan haila hastete kariyā laila
thuila padmapatrasthāne //

463. Śiva's attachment to the Koch people has been discussed in detail at pp. 169-70.

See also D. C. Sircar, *The Śākta Pīṭhas*, pp. 105-106 & *Annadāmaṅgala* (Vaṅgavāsī ed.), p. 78.

464. Jagajjivanarāma, *op.cit.*, p. 22.

which Śiva is made to play his part of the father is not natural. In fact, he has not been allowed by the poets of the *Maṅgala-kāvya* literature to act in a normal and healthy way. Pārvatī is his wife and Śiva can pass a normal life with her. The idea behind these descriptions is to belittle the god, and that is why he is presented with a sort of uncanny and lascivious nature.[465]

The same work says how Śiva once appears before Durgā as a beggar. Durgā comes near him and extends her hand to give alms. When a part of her *sāri* slips down from her shoulder Śiva touches her breast and Durgā becomes happy. People of the hermitage notice the behaviour of the two.[466] From the way in which the poet narrates the incident, it seems as if Durgā knows Śiva's intention beforehand and makes herself ready accordingly. But, this is not perhaps any civilised way of the meeting between a husband and a wife, nay between a man and a woman. Here, not only Śiva but Durgā also has been humiliated by the poet.

Ketakādāsa Kshemānanda speaks of lascivious Śiva when the god is found not to pay any heed to the request made by the Ḍomnī, who is no other than Chaṇḍī herself, and being confounded by desire he holds the Ḍomnī and embraces her repeatedly. In the concluding lines of the section, the poet says that just as a bee is bewildered by sucking honey so also Śiva plunges himself into the acts of love and becomes passion-intoxicated.[467]

Referring to the origin of the Koch kings, the legend, as stated in the *Purushanāma* of Rājā Lakshmī Nārāyaṇa Kumār, is that the Koches are the direct descendants of Śiva, because

465. In one place, the poet has inserted this weakness even in Brahmā. Beholding Durgā's beauty, Brahmā becomes passionate and discharges his semens. Durgā, then taking bath in a river, is impregnated. Gaṅgā helps her to get an abortion (See Jagajjīvanarāma, *op.cit.*, p. 51).

466. *Ibid.*, p. 64.

467. Ketakādāsa Kshemānanda, *Manasāmaṅgala*, pp. 29-31.

the belief that Bihu, their ancestor, was the son of Śiva. The story goes that a chief, Hidri by name, had twelve children who founded twelve families. From one of these families sprang Hariā Maṇḍal. One day when his wife Hīrā was carrying his midday meal to him in the fields, she was met by Śiva, who had assumed the form of Hariā Maṇḍal, and in that guise consumed the food intended for her husband and had intercourse with her. In the evening, there was some misunderstanding between Hīrā and her husband, but on the day after, matters were settled, because Śiva appeared before Hariā in a dream and informed him that it was he who had eaten his food and taken such liberties with his wife, and stated that as a result of his intimacy with her, a son would be born and in course of time he would be a mighty chief.[468]

In order to claim direct descent from Śiva, the story was perhaps fabricated by the Koches ; but Śiva's position has thereby been lowered by making him appear in disguise and enjoy another man's wife. Later, the Koches wanted to save their ancestral god from such vilification and they modified the legend. Thus, at the conclusion, the legend adds that the woman (Hīrā) was none other than an incarnation of Pārvatī, who was made to take the form of a Mechani.[469] This legend hints, besides the lascivious nature of Śiva, towards the god's close association with the Koch and the Mech.

Rāmakṛishna Kavirāja, has given a very interesting account of Śiva's lasciviousness. Vishṇu says that Śiva's only fascination is for the women-folk. Having a lust for women, as soon as he sees a woman he loses his senses and is sick of passion and is thus disturbed in his meditation. In the whole description therefore, Śiva acts like a woman-intoxicated

468. *JASB*, 1893, pp. 268-70. (cf. the *Ahalyā* episode)

469. *Ibid.*, pp. 272-73. See also Barua, B. K., *A Cultural History of Assam (Early Period)*, 1969, p. 165.

man. A woman passes by and he instantly runs after her. While running the woman's hairs are dishevelled and her garments fall off. In order to save herself from shame she enters the nearby forest. But Śiva, infatuated with passion, runs into the forest and catches her. In the course of the struggle that follows his semen is discharged and its drops take shapes of different kinds of gems and stones. Thus, although in the end the poet tries to draw our attention to the superb strength of the god, his narration only speaks of Śiva's sensual and weak nature.[470]

470. Rāmakṛishna Kavirāja, *op.cit.*, p. 192 :

mohinī dekhile Hara hārāibe jñān |
kāme vaś haiba bhāṅgibe jog dhyān ||

* * *

dekhila mohinīrūp baḍai āścharyya |
chañchal haila chitta nā rahila dhairyya ||

* * *

dhāiyā dharite jāi dekhilā kāminī |
pālāiya bale kanyā marālagāminī ||
vasan uḍila vāy ālulaita keś |
upabane mohinī karila praveś ||
pavaner bege āmi dharila āñchale |
pīṭhā pīṭhā dhāite āmār chandra ṭale ||
jei jei sthale paḍe āmār auras |
mṛittikā kāñchan haila pāthar paraś ||
śarkarā āchhila jata ār kuchā śilā |
chāri jāti hīra haila pañchajāti nīlā ||

ASSOCIATED WITH MOUNTAINS

Śiva has close association with the mountains. This trait he may have inherited from Rudra, his Vedic prototype, who is connected with the mountains. The *Taittirīya saṁhitā* says that he is clothed in a skin (*kṛittivāsa*) and dwells in the mountains.[471] Oldenberg points out that it is a common idea that disease comes from the mountains and Rudra, belonging to the mountain, is responsible for inflicting diseases on man. According to Oldenberg, Rudra is connected with the north, since in India the mountains of importance to the Vedic Indians lay in the north.[472] Hillebrandt finds the connection with the north in the fact that the sun is to the north during the period of the most dangerous season of the year and Rudra is himself dangerous.[473] Rudra is called *girisanta* and *giriśa* (the dweller of the mountain), *girivara* (the best of the mountains) and *girīśa* (the lord of the mountains).[474] The interesting point to note is that Rudra's abode, like that of his successor Śiva, is neither at Kailāsa nor at any north-eastern quarter of this country. The *Yajurveda* and its *Brāhmaṇas* say that the mountain where Rudra resided and wandered about was the Mūjavat which was situated in the north somewhere outside the pale of the Aryan territory.[475]

Likewise, Śiva is himself called *Giriśa*, *Girīśa*, *Giritra*, *Girivara* and his consort Umā's other names are *Pārvatī*, *Giriputrī*, *Girisutā* (daughter of the mountain), etc., his father-in-

471. 4.5.5.

472. Oldenberg, *Religion des Veda*, vol. II, pp. 215-24.

473. Hillebrandt, *Vedische Mythologie*, vol. II, p. 207.

474. Pāṇini, *Arthaśāstra*, 3.2.15 ; *Bhāratachandra-granthāvalī*, 117, 158 ; *Kumārasambhava*, 5.3 ; *Kṛittivāsī Rāmāyaṇa*, 20 ; *Vājasaneyi-saṁhitā*, 16.2.4 ; 23.3.

475. *Ibid.*, 3.61 ; *Taittirīya-saṁhitā*, 1.8.6.

law is Himālaya, the mountain. Śiva's abode is Mount Kailāsa. It is said that he resides in a palace of gold, adorned with jewels of all kinds.[476] Kailāsa is called Śivapura where there are many precious things such as pearls, coral, gold, silver, etc. Kailāsa was previously the abode of Kuvera, the god of wealth, who later remained there as a store-keeper of Śiva's palace.[477] In Kailāsa reside the *devas* (gods), *dānavas* (demons), *gandharvas* (heavenly musicians), *apsaras* (dancers and courtesans), *brahmarshis* (sages) and *maharshis* (great sages) and *chāraṇas* (bards).[478] The sages constantly perform the worship of Śiva and Pārvatī, and the *apsaras* and *gandharvas* continually sing and dance. The region of Kailāsa abounds with all sorts of flowers, fruits and birds.[479] Śiva sits enthroned on this

476. Wilson, J., *A View of the History, Literature and Religion of the Hindoos*, p. 32.

477. *Vāmana-purāṇa*, 2.12.36.

478. Wilson, J., *op.cit.*, p. 36.

The following important sages reside at Kailāsa—Śāntanu, Sanatkumāra, Sunanda, Agastya, Āṅgirasa, Pulastya, Pulaha, Chitra, Gautama, Bhṛigu, Parāśara, Bharadvāja, Mṛikaṇḍa, Mārkaṇḍeya, Śunhaśepa, Ashṭavakra, Dhaumya, Vālmīki, Vaśishṭha, Durvāsā, etc.

479. *Ibid.*, pp. 39-45 :

The names of the flowers, fruits and birds are interesting :

(a) Flowers : *yuthi* (Jasminum auriculatum), *jāti* (J. grandiflorum), *mallikā* (J. zambae), *mālatī* (Caltnera recemosa), *dora* (unknown), *ṭagara* (Tubernacmontana cornoria), *karavira* (Nerium odorum), *kalhara* (Nymphaea cynea), *Karṇikara* (Pterospermum acerifolium), *keśara* (Mimusps elengi), *pūnnāga* (Rottlera tinetoria), *droṇa* (Phlomis zeylancia), *gandharāja* (Ganderia florida), *śephālikā* (Nyctanthes arborotistes), *champaka* (Michelia champaka), *bhūmi-champaka* (Kemsheria rotunda), *nāga-keśara* (Mensva ferrea), *muchukūnda* (Petrospermum suberifolia), *kāñchana* (Banhinia), *piūlī* (Linum trigynum), *jhintī* (Barberia cristata), *rakta-jhintī* (Barberia ciliata), *nīla-jhintī* (Barberia coerulea), *kadamba* (Nanclea orientalis), *rajani-gandhā* (the tuberose), *tarkir* (Aeschynomensesban), *tarulatā* (Ipomea quamochit) and *pārijāta* (Phoenix paludosa). See also *A Manual of Indian Botany* by G. C. Bose.

b) Trees and fruits : *sāla* (Phoenix sylvestris), *tāla* (Erythrina fulgens), *tamāla* (Shorea robusta), *hintāla* (Borassus flabelliformis), *kharjūra* (Diospyrus cordifolia), *āmra* (Mangifera Indica), *jamvīra* (the citon

fabulous of the north. He is surrounded and waited upon by the *yakshas*, and great number of spirit of different forms, who receive their orders from his son, Skanda, the god of war.

The beauty and environment of Kailāsa remind one of Homer's Olympus, the abode of Jupiter.[480] In this connection, it is interesting to note that the Indians locate a sacred region and the seats of the gods to the north of India. The daily prospect of the 'Snowy summits of the Himalaya, glittering far and wide' over the plains, and the knowledge the Indians had about the 'table-land beyond, with its extensive and tranquil domains, its clear and cloudless sky', etc., would point of the "north as the abode of the gods, and the theatre of wonders."[481] Referring to the origin of the *Tantras* it is said that they have originated either in the utterances of Lord Buddha or have come to us in the form of *Hara-Pārvatī-samvāda* which have been brought by somebody from Kailāsa.[482]

It is possible that Śiva was at first the god of the mountaineers and, only later, he began to be worshipped by people

or lime tree), *guvāka* (Areca catechu), *panasa* (Artocarpus integrifolia), *śriphala* (Aegle marmelos), *drākshā* (the grape, vine), *iṅgūdi* (unknown), *vaṭa* (Ficus Indica), *aśvatha* (Ficus religiosa), *kapitt'ha* (Feronia elephanticum).

(c) Birds : *kāka* (crow), *śuka* (parrot), *pārāvata* (pigeon). *tittirī* (partridge), *chātaka* (sparrow), *chāsa* (Coracius Indica), *bhāsa* (unknown), *kokila* (cuckow), *sārasa* (the Siberian crane), *dalyūha* (gallinule), *chakravāka* (Anas gasarea), etc.

480. *Asiatic Researches*, vol. I, p. 65.

Kailāsa is believed to be situated on the snowy hills of the Himalaya or to the east of the Brahmaputra, which has the name of Chandraśekhara.

481. Muir, *op.cit.*, vol. IV, p. 480.

On the slopes of Mount Kailāsa, Śiva's solitary snow-capped hermitage, grow the arboreal emblem of eternity, the stately Himalayan *deodār* (*devadāru*, i.e., tree of the *devas*). See Havell, E. B., *Aryan Rule in India*, p. 111.

482. *JBORS*, vol. VI, pt. 1, p. 63.

of the plains. That the god has his early association with mountains is clear from the different works of the early period. The famous *Daksha-yajña* episode, commonly found in the different *Saṁhitās* and the *Purāṇas*, is a clear proof of such an association. Daksha, a resident of the mountain, holds the sacrifice on another mountain and Śiva, a resident of Mount Kailāsa, is not invited. His wife, Umā, daughter of a mountain-chief, goes to Daksha's (her father's) place to ascertain the reason as to why her husband has not been invited. She cannot bear the abuses of her father and embraces death. Śiva comes over to the mountainous place of Daksha's sacrifice and with the help of his attendants destroys the sacrifice. Thus the whole course of the tragic events happen in the mountains and are concerned with the people residing on the mountains. In a sense, the episode presents a dramatic tragedy of a mountainous region. After the sacrifice is destroyed Śiva, deeply aggrieved with the sad demise of his wife, commences meditation on Kailāsa. Umā reborn as Pārvatī, the daughter of Himālaya, starts penance to win Śiva as her husband. The austerity of Pārvatī presents a picture of a girl of a hill-tribe urging importunately to marry a boy belonging to another hill-tribe. Pārvatī is successful and Śiva goes to marry her on the mountain-abode of the bride. From the descriptions of the marriage party in the *Śivāyanas*, the *Maṅgala-kāvyas* and other Śaiva works, it appears that a bridegroom belonging to one mountain group is going alongwith with a party, consisting mostly of inhabitants of the mountainous region, to marry a girl who belongs to another mountain group. And, the social history of the country says that such was, and even now is, the usual marriage custom of the mountainous tribes.

It is a point of interest to note that we have not yet dissociated the idea of Śiva's mountainous habits. In the eastern part of the country the belief is that Durgā, Śiva's consort, comes down to the land adjoined with her father's house, situated on the mountains. She stays there for several

days and goes back to her husband's house, also situated on a mountain. That is to say, we could not make Śiva totally a god of the plain. That we associate him and his family with mountains proves his early association with, if not his origin from, the mountains. Although in the hands of the later poets, especially of Bengal, Assam and Orissa, Śiva and Pārvatī have played the role of a common man and woman of the plains, yet, they cannot forget their association with mountains. In this connection, Rabindranātha's remark is worth-mentioning. He says that in the *Maṅgala-kāvyas* the attitude and behaviour of Śiva and Pārvatī make us feel that one Śivadāsa Bhaṭṭāchāryya and his wife Pārvatī Ṭhākurāṇī live amongst us in a Bengal village and pass their days just as we do.[483] The remark is, however, partially correct. When the poets refer to the ascetic practices of the god, Nārada's proposal to the bridegroom at Kailāsa or to the bride's father at the Himālaya, the marriage ceremony, the procession of the bridal party, etc., we can assuredly feel that Śiva has a close association with mountains. In the scenes like the god's domestic quarrel with Pārvatī or Chaṇḍī, his moving about as a beggar, his adoption of a peasant life we see in Śiva and Pārvatī more of a man and woman of the plain. We can, therefore, conclude that in Śiva the life in a mountain has been fused with that in the plain.

483. Bhattacharyya, A., *Baṅglā Maṅgala-kāvyer Itihāsa*, p. 21.

ASSOCIATED WITH SERPENT

The serpents have played a very important part in the religious history of the country and has its importance in Jainism, in Buddhism and also in Brahmanism. Pārśvanātha, the 23rd *tīrthaṅkara* of the Jainas, has the snake-hood as one of his *lañchhanas*; Muchalinda, the snake-king, saved the Buddha from the fierce storm by spreading its hood over his head when the latter was meditating to attain *bodhi*; the Buddha also kept the *prajñāpāramitā* (the sacred book of knowledge) in the custody of the Nāgas from whom it was recovered by Nāgārjuna; Vishṇu, the preserver, rests in his eternal sleep on the serpent *Ananta* (endless), the symbol of eternity. Throughout the ages the serpents are very popular and they thus appear in company with the *gandharvas*, the *apsaras* and the *kinnaras*, in some of the most ancient architectural ornamentations of India. From the literary, sculptural and architectural evidences we can establish a close relation between Śiva and the serpent.

The serpent is prominent in connection with the conventional shape under which Śiva (Mahādeva) is worshipped at Vārāṇasī and elsewhere. It sometimes takes the place of the *liṅga* phallus and is to be entwined with almost every article connected with this worship. In the Kumāon rock-markings we get a circle with a dot which symbolises Mahādeva. This symbol of Śiva is very common in Vārāṇasī; it is found painted on the bamboo umbrellas which line the *ghāṭs* and is also dabbed about freely on the walls of buildings.[484] In the temple of Nāgeśvara at Vārāṇasī the snake-god is Śiva himself. Here Śiva is worshipped in the form of a cobra. In the Nagpur area, lower class people worship Śiva as *Nāgabhūshaṇa*, *i.e.* he who wears snakes as his

484. *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies*, 1957, pp. 73-78.

ornaments.[485] The Kunbi of Nagpur, a cultivating class, worship the snake only and the list of articles used for worship is similar to what would be used in Śiva worship.[486]

In the *Mahābhārata* Śiva has close association with the serpent. He is found sometimes to put on a girdle, ear ornaments and sacred thread of snakes and a snake-skin as garment.[487] In the *Maṅgala Kāvyas* and other medieval works we find very frequently that Śiva holds snakes on his person which frighten everyone who comes near him.[488] Śiva comes to marry and, in accordance with custom, the bride's mother goes to welcome the bridegroom. But, to her surprise, she sees snakes hanging on the body of her would-be son-in-law. She feels sorry when she cannot put the *chandana* mark on the bridegroom's forehead wherefrom a serpent hisses.[489] This idea is also expressed in one folk-song of Bihar.[490]

485. Rivett-Carnae, *Snake symbol*, p. 12.

The *menhirs* of Carnal in Brittany and its neighbourhood had a striking resemblance to the Śiva emblems of India.

486. *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies*, 1957, p. 76.

The following articles are used both for Śiva and Nāga worship: (1) water, (2) *gandha*, pigment of Sandal-wood for the forehead or body, (3) Cleansed rice, (4) Flowers, (5) Leaves of the *bel* tree, (6) Milk, (7) Curd, (8) A thread or piece of cloth, (9) Red powder, (10) Saffron, (11) *Ābīr*, (12) Garlands of flowers, (13) *Gram* soaked and perched, (14) *Jowarri* (holcus sorghum) soaked and perched, (15) Five lights, (16) Sweetmeats, (17) Betel-leaves, (18) Cocoanut or nut & (19) A sum of money (according to means).

487. *Mahābhārata*, 6.12.21-26.

488 The same picture of Śiva's appearance can be seen in the *Chaṇḍīmaṅgala* of Mukundarāma (*op.cit.*, pp. 76-77):

māthāy jaṭār bhār gaṅgā upar tār
māthā śobhe sāper pāgḍi /
sāp hār sāp tāḍ sāper ye alaṅkār
sarvva aṅge sāper jaḍājaḍi //

489. Rāmakṛishṇa, *op.cit.*, p. 29; Bhāratachandra, *op.cit.*, pp. 62-63; Mukundarāma, *op.cit.*, p. 49; Kavichandra, *op.cit.*, p. 34.

490. *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1884, p. 230:

parichhan chalali sāsu madāgini
sarap chhāḍale phuphukār re /

In Mukundarāma's *Chaṇḍīmaṅgala*, Menakā regrets to find Śiva as the bridegroom, selected for her daughter, because the serpent is his armlet, the sacred thread which he wears is a serpent and it is again a serpent that ornaments his crown. Besides, in his girdle he has tied a serpent and even the jingling anklet is also a serpent. Menakā, therefore, thinks that the bridegroom must be the son of a snake-charmer.[491] From this description everyone, like Menakā, would perhaps not hesitate to believe that Śiva has a very close association with serpents. It is possible, that the god, inhabiting the mountainous region, which is usually infested with serpents and other fierce creatures, has been presented with a strong liking for these animals. It is this association which possibly makes the god wear the skin of a tiger or of an elephant, commonly found in mountain slopes and forests. It is for this association again that the god is himself called the lord of animals (*paśupati*).

Bhāratachandra takes advantage of the god's love for serpents and makes him an object of laughter. His Vishṇu stands nearby when Śiva comes towards the marriage-altar. Seeing his mount Garuḍa all serpents hanging round Śiva's

musra ke pheñkalī ladhvā pevarali
pachhān ke chalalī parāi re //

Madāgini *i.e.* Madākinī (Menakā), the bride's mother, came out to welcome him (the bridegroom); when the serpents hissed she threw away her wooden pestle, flung away her stone pestle also and ran back (into the house).

491. Mukundarāma, *op.cit.*, pp. 95-96:
Menakā ḍhālila dadhi varer charaṇe /
añger bhūshaṇ dekhe vishdahargaṇe //
* * *
charaṇe nūpur sarpa sāp kaṭibandha /
paridhān bāghchhāl dekhi lāge dhandha //
aṅgad balay sāp sāper paitā /
chakshu khāyyā hena vare dilām duhtiā //
Gaurīr kapāle chhila vediyār po /
kapāle chandan dite sāpe māre chhoṅ //

body flee away.[492] The tiger-skin is tied round his waist by serpents and, as they run away, it drops down and the god becomes stark naked in the midst of the women folk. Menakā and all other women are ashamed to see the sight. The lights are put off, but the crescent moon which shines on the bridegroom's forehead cannot be removed and everyone, present there, is embarrassed. This mischief is done by Vishṇu under Nārada's advice only to vilify the god. Rāmeśvara's Menakā is also upset to see a bridegroom with snakes. She curses her husband when the latter decides to marry his daughter to a person whose whole body is covered with snakes. When the bridegroom comes Menakā goes to welcome him but steps back so that she may not be biten by the serpents. She is enraged and asks the people to immediately push the bridegroom out of the place.[493]

Rāmakṛishṇa's Pārvatī is very much afraid to lie with her husband at night. She complains that she cannot sleep because the serpents make hissing sound from his matted lock and waters bubble in it. She says that whenever she touches his body she feels the roughness of the skin and finds serpents moving about on the bed. But the concluding remark of Pārvatī speaks of her sincere devotion to Śiva. According to her, that woman should be called a true wife who, staying

492. In Mukundarāma's version (*op.cit.*, p. 86). Śiva's tiger-skin fell off because on the plate carried by Menakā to welcome the bridegroom was the root of *īsha*, a plant whose smell the snakes cannot stand.

493. Rāmeśvara, *op.cit.*, p. 89 :

sarvāṅge kil kil sadā kare kālsāp |
tāre beṭī dite bale nidāruṇ bāp ||

*   *   *

sarpāghāte hai hāt bāḍāile śire |
dhākkā maryyā bāher karyyā dite bala tāre ||

See also Menakā's remark in Bhāratachandra (*op.cit.*, p. 68) :

āhā mari bāchhā Umā ki tap karile |
sāpuḍer bhūtuḍer kapāle paḍile ||

in the midst of such a fearful atmosphere, could serve her husband well.[494]

494. *Sāhitya Parishat Patrikā*, B.S. 1348, p. 81 referring to a *ms* of Rāmakṛishṇa's *Śivāyana*, dated B.S. 1133 :

sayan tomār pāśe nidrā nāhi hai trāse
jaṭāy jaler kulkuli |
sāper phophāñs śuni sāt pāñch mane guṇi
pālāite param ākuli ||
hastapada jadi nāḍi chāmḍār khaḍkhaḍi
śayye sāp kare ilimili |
emata sukher śayyā ithe patiparicharyyā
jadi kare nāri tāre bali ||

ASSOCIATED WITH BULL

The animistic belief of man has its root deep in the past. Because of his physical weakness the primitive man had believed in the superior power of animals and this belief made the animals objects of veneration. Totemism has also played a part and the idea of worshipping the animals gradually clothes an animal with a divine garb. Thus in course of time, animals like the elephant, snake, lion, tiger, bull, etc., were deified. The bull, as we shall see, has played an important role in the religious life of the country.

In the *Atharvaveda* a bull was addressed with words "Men call thee Indra"[495] and Verethraghna, the Avestan parallel to Indra, had a bull form.[496] At the *Śākamedha* sacrifice, in an offering to Indra a bull was invoked and when it bellowed the offering was made.[497] It was believed that with the bellowing of the bull the god would come down to receive the offering preferred to him by the sacrificer. In the *Yajurveda*, there is a list of sacrifices where we notice some animal offerings made to the bull-king and the tiger-king.[498] Where Dyaus stands alone, he is mentioned as the father of Indra and of Agni and is represented as a bull who bellows downward.[499] Agni is himself represented a bull who has waxed in waters and descends from the clouds.[500] The *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* says that Soma is a sharp-horned bull

495. *AV*, 9.4.9.

496. Keith, A. B., *Philosophy of the Religion of the Veda and the Upanishads*, p. 68.

497. Weber, *Ind. Stud.*, p. 341.

498. *Taittirīya Saṁhitā*, 5.5.11.

499. Keith, A. B., *op.cit.*, p. 95. See also Erman, A., *Handbook of Egyptian Religion*, pp. 71-79 ; *ERE*, vol. VII, pp. 130-132.

500. *Ibid.*, p. 155.

and the waters are his cows.[501] It is said in one of the *Gṛihya-sūtras* that the sacrifice of a spit-ox, in the spring or autumn, to Rudra would bring wealth.[502] In the *Śūlagava*, the offerings were made to three animals, *viz.*, a bull, a cow and a calf, which were styled the *Śūlagava* or Īśāna, the bountiful one and the victor respectively.[503] In this particular sacrifice, the bull and the cow stand for the god and his wife and the calf to Jayanta, possibly a child of Rudra and his wife.

The offering of a particular animal in sacrifice is interwoven with the conception that by eating an animal a god at first strengthens his nature and then transfuses the strength to his devotees. In the same way, a god may be called a bull with reference to his strength.[504]

The bull (*Vṛishabha*) is Śiva's favourite mount on which he is usually represented as riding and from which the god gets his name *Vṛishabha-vāhana*. Śiva's Vedic prototype Rudra, however, is not seen to ride on a bull. On the contrary, he, like all other Vedic gods, rides on a war-chariot.[505] But the Vedic Rudra is himself represented as a bull. It may be remembered, in this connection, that Rudra is the father of the Maruts through his cow-wife Pṛishṇi. Pṛishṇi's sons are known as *gomātaraḥ*, *i.e.* having a cow for their mother and they are themselves known as bulls.[506] It is, therefore, not unlikely that Rudra having a cow-wife and bull-sons, is himself a bull.[507]

The name Paśupati, attributed to Śiva, as we have already seen, also refers to his association with the bovine family. And gradually the bull was represented in absolute relation with the god. The bull thus became the symbol of Śiva.

501. *SB*, ii. 5.4-5.
502. *Āśvalāyana Gṛihya-sūtra*, 4.8.
503. Keith, *ibid.*, pp. 280, 384.
504. Keith, *ibid.*, p. 285.
505. *Ṛigveda*, 2.33.4.
506. *Ibid.*, 1.23.10 ; 1.85.3.
597. *Ibid.*, 2.33.4, 6.

In this context, Coomaraswamy's observation in identifying Śiva on coins is worthy of note. He says, '......we find at first the humped bull alone, then a two-armed, and finally a four-armed figure accompanying the bull, once the representative of the deity, now his vehicle, while other symbols are held in the hands as attributes.'[508] We shall see later that on many coins of indigenous and foreign rulers, found in different parts of the country, the bull is the theriomorphic representation of Śiva. The humped bull depicted on the reverse side of the unique gold coin of an uncertain Indo-Scythic king, bearing legends respectively in Greek and Kharoshṭhī scripts—*tauros* and *ushabha* (*vṛishabha*) presumably stands for Śiva. This reminds us of the same device appearing on the coins of Mihiragula (Mihirakula) with the legend

508. *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, p. 45.

In this connection it is necessary to note the various sculptural representations of the god. One interesting image of Śiva is that of Śarabha. This according to Banerjea (*Development of Hindu Iconography*, p. 6) and Gopinātha Rao (*Elements of Hindu Iconography*, p. 45), is an outcome of sectarian rivalry. Śiva incarnated himself as Śarabha for the chastisment of Narasiṁha. The peculiar image of Śarabha is a composite form of man, bird and beast, (See pl. No. IV).

Another example of such hybrid form can be seen in the case of what is known as Ekapādamūrti. This is an image of Śiva represented as the chief deity having on either side, the figures of Vishṇu and Brahmā projecting from him. This group is meant to symbolize the idea that the Supreme God of the universe is Śiva and that from him evolved both Vishṇu and Brahmā (Gopinātha Rao, *op.cit.*, pp. 42-46). In this context, the image of Kachchhapeśvara is also to be noted. There is a temple in Conjeevaram dedicated as Kachchhyapeśvara (*Kachchhapa* = *Kashyapa* = *Kassapa* = *Kasyapa*) which name is Sanskritised into Kachchhapeśvara. The correct Tamil form of the name of the god is Kachchhiyappa, meaning 'Iśvara set up by Kachchhiyappa'. *Kachchhapa* is the Sanskrit word for the tortoise and Kachchhapeśvara, the lord of the tortoise, must be Śiva as worshipped by Vishṇu in his *Kūrma* incarnation. See Gopinātha Rao, *op.cit.*, vol. I, pl. No. D, pp. 42-43 reproduced at pl. No. XIII of this work.

'*jayatu vṛishaḥ*' in the script of the period.[509] One of Śiva's many names is Nandīśvara. In this form he is reprented with the head of a bull and with four arms, usually carrying the attributes of Śiva and likewise accompanied by Nandī as the *vāhana*.[510]

Seldom in the literary works concerned with Śiva we find the absence of this animal. Whenever the god is presented as one moving from one place to another, he is found accompanied by the bull. As a bridegroom also, he rides the bull ;

509. IHQ, 1940, p. 124 ; Gardner P., *British Museum Catalogue of the Coins of the Greek and Scythic Kings of Bactria and India*, p. 162, pl. 29.15 ; Cunningham, *Coins of Ancient India*, pp. 97-8, pl. 10.1-6 ; Smith V. A., *Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum*, vol. I, p. 236, pl. 25.5 ; Allan, *Catalogue of the Coins of Ancient India*, p. 85, pl, 11.2 ; p. 233, Nos. 154 & 154A ; pl. 35.5 ; p. 243, pl. 36.15.

The Jainas name their first *tīrthaṅkara* as Ṛishabhanātha (Ādinātha) having a bull as one of the *lañchhanas*. It may be that the Jaina *Ṛishabhanātha* is a predecossor of the Hindu god Vṛishabhanātha (Nandīśvara i.e. Mahādeva). During the Mauryan period the figure of the bull played an important part occupying a unique position of the capitals. *cf.* Sārnāth capital of Aśoka and the Bull capital from Rāmpurvā. In this connection, it is interesting to note the undeciphered seals from Mohenjo-daro and Harappā depicting a *taurus* (bull) which possibly refers to a cult-god having affinity with Śiva. See also *ERE*, vol. XII, p. 143 ; Monier-Williams, *Brahmanism and Hinduism*, pp. 24-31 ; Smith, V. A., *A History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon*, Ch. 10. For *Vṛishabhavrata* (bull-vow) See *ERE*, vol. XII, p. 656.

510. *AI*, No. 15, pp. 61-62. In this connection, the temple of Dūlādeo is worth-mentioning. It is unique in showing a crocodile as Śiva's mount. This may indicate the god's association with the Ganges who often appears as the god's consort and has a crocodile (*makara*) as her *vāhana*. See also Cunningham, *ASI Reports*, II, VII, X & XXI (1864-65), and *Ep.Ind.*, I, 1892, pp. 65-69. Khajurāho has an anazingly large variety of Śaiva deities. Among the rare iconographic forms may be mentioned the Śaiva deities Nandīśvara and Pārvatī as *godhāsanā*. The Nandīśvara figures are, however, absent in the Jagadambī and Pārśvanātha temples. Refer also to the Koni Stone inscription of Kalachuri King, Pṛithvīdeva II (*CII*, vol. II, pp. 470-475) and *Asirgaḍh Copper Seal Inscription* of Sarvavarman (*CII*, vol. III pp. 219-221).

the bull accompanies him when he crosses the river by a boat occupied by Gaurī in the guise of a *ḍomnī* ; and, with the help of the bull again the god tills the soil. That is to say, on every occasion where the god is present the bull is also present. There are, however, stories fabricated to account for Śiva's choice of the bull as his vehicle.

One legend says that the white bull, which serves as Śiva's banner, was given to him by Daksha, the divine sage. This bull has broad shoulders, sleek sides, a black tail, a thick neck, horns hard as adamant, and a hump like the top of the snowy mountain.[511] It has a golden complexion, and on its back the god of gods sits with Umā.[512]

In Rāmakṛishṇa Kavichandra's *Śivāyana*, Śiva himself explains to Pārvatī as to why he selected the bull as his mount. He says that there was once a great quarrel among the bulls in heaven and when he settled the disputes, Brahmā gave him the best of the bulls saying that, that should be henceforward his mount.[513]

511. Hopkins, Religion of India, p. 117.

512. *Vāmana-Purāṇa,* 9.46-47.

513. Kavichandra, *op.cit.*, pp. 157-58 :

Prajāpati haila tushta
dekhi vatsa hṛishṭa pushṭa
āmāre karila samarpaṇ /
ei vṛisha Vishṇu tejā
haiba rather dhvajā
yathākāle karibe vāhan //

cf. Vṛishañechainaṁ dhvajārthaṁ me dadan vāhanameva cha (*Mahābhārata,* 7.41).

PERFORMER OF MIRACLES

Now we shall see, with reference to different literary works, Śiva as a performer of miracles. It is well known that miracles are often associated with ascetics and religious leaders. We see that during different ages the religious leaders, although ordinary human beings, play the role of guides to mankind by means of their superior knowledge and power. Some of them are represented as having no following in the beginning, but are said to have won the hearts of the people usually by some miraculous feats. Thereafter they came to be revered and sometimes deified.

We know that the authors often attach human characteristics to the gods whose superior power is part of their divine nature. Thus Śiva, Vishṇu and other gods and goddesses of Brāhmaṇical pantheon sometimes behave in unnatural ways. And, as we cannot often explain such behaviour we have to remain content that these acts are only the ways (*līlā*) of the gods

Śiva has often been presented as a performer of miracles. In South India, he is said to have performed sixty-four miracles. He raises the dead,[514] heals blind, deaf and lame men and grants miraculous power to sixty-three of his saints.[515] Mānikchāñd learns from Śiva the art of performing miracles, and rejoins cut pieces of the trees.[516] When everyone becomes afraid at the sight of his awful mien,the god, at the request of Nārada (of Pārvatī in one place) changes miraculously his whole appearance. His braided hair bedecked with snakes become beautiful and the snake is transformed into his ornamented crown. The garland of skulls around

514. Cf. *The Holy Bible,* Romans 6.9 ; Peter 3.18.

515. *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society,* 1932, p. 85.

516. *Sāhitya Parishat Patrikā,* 1872 B.S., p. 163.

the god's neck becomes a chain of pearls and the ash of his body is changed into sandal paste. With these changes, the person who had the ugliest appearance becomes, in a few moments, so charming and attractive that every woman feels crazy about him and thinks him to be more handsome than even Anaṅgadeva (the god of love).[517]

In Jāyasī's *Padmāvat*, Śiva cannot be recognised by Ratansen when he appears before the latter in the form of a leper (*kushṭhī*) riding on his favourite bull. Finding that the leper does not wink, that no fly sits on his body, that he has no hunger and thirst and that his body does not cast any shadow, Ratansen is convinced that a sage has come in the garb of a leper. Later, when Ratansen sees him riding on a bull, he is absolutely sure that the sage is no other than Śiva himself.[518] In the same work, on another occasion, the

517. Mukundarāma, *op.cit.*, p. 203 :

Nārader vachane Hara dharen suveś /
māthāy jaṭār bhār kuṭil kari keś //
jaṭār upare vivarjita jata nāg /
māthāy maṭuk dila maṇirāj sāp //
kapāler upar chandramā kare jyoti /
galāy hāḍer mālā haila gajamoti //
aṅger bhasma haila kasturi chandan /
vyāghrachhāl ambar karila paridhān //
viparīt rūpe Śiver haila alaṅkār /
dekhiyā Śiver rūp Hemanta chamatkār //

See also Bhāratachandra, *op.cit.*, p. 86 ; Rāmkrishṇa Kavirāja, *op.cit.*, p. 37.

518. Shukl, R., *Jāyasī granthāvalī*, p. 97 :

siddhahi aṅga na baithe mākhi /
siddhahi palak nahiṅ lavai āṅkhi //
siddhahi saṅga hoi nahiṅ chhāyā /
siddhahi hoi bhūkh nahiṅ bhāya //
jehi jog siddha gosāiṅ kīnhā /
pargaṭ gaput rahai ko chinhā //
bail chaḍha kushṭi kar vesu /
Girijāpati sāt āhi Mahesu //

god helps Ratansen to open the secret door leading to the royal palace, where Padmāvatī has her chamber, by giving him some tablets made of *siddhi* (*siddhiguṭikā*). It is said that the door was fastened with an iron chain which nobody could break as the place was well guarded. Ratansen, as instructed by Śiva, swallowed the tablets and became invisible. He could thus easily hoodwink the guards posted there and, being bodiless, could pass through the closed door.[519]

Śiva performs another miracle by filling the region of Kailāsa with gold when the womenfolk assembled on the occasion of the marriage ceremony, remark that the god should be ashamed to see that his newly-wed wife has no golden ornament on her person. The god thus creates gold which is showered like snow upon the bride. The showering continues till the earth finds the weight of gold unbearable. The people then pray to Śiva for cessation of the shower of gold. The god agrees to their request and stops the shower. But the people around are convinced of his power.[520]

Besides such miraculous references, the god, in some works, sometimes takes unusual, but interesting forms. In one *Manasāmaṅgala Kāvya*,[521] Śiva appears as a tailor. Once the god decides to go to Kālidaha. On the way he is to cross the Joka river. Gaurī comes to know beforehand of Śiva's intention. She arrives at the river *ghāṭ* before the god and waits for him on a boat in the guise of a *ḍomnī*. Śiva, on boarding the boat, cannot recognise Gaurī and offers his love to her. Gaurī accepts Śiva's advances and later reveals her identity. Śiva feels ashamed and resolves to take revenge. In the shape of a rat, he eats up Gaurī's brassiere (*kāñchuli*) and again, in the guise of a tailor appears in Gaurī's house. There he offers his services. The maid takes the tailor to

519. *Ibid.*, p. 99.

520. Rājānaka, *Śivapariṇaya* (a Kashmirī poem ed. G. A. Grierson), vv. 1223-1307.

521. Vipradāsa, *Manasāmaṅgala*, ed. Sukumar Sen, p. 31.

Gaurī who asks him to mend her brassiere. The tailor does the work on condition that she would satisfy him. Śiva repairs the brassiere and Gaurī has to surrender herself to him. Thus the god takes his revenge.[522]

There is another interesting form of Śiva as playing *holi.* Generally, Kṛishṇa is the deity with whom the *holi* is associated. It may be that some Śaivites regarded Śiva as jovial enough to have taken part in *holi* on occassions. Śiva has no *gopas* and *gopinīs* to play with and, as such, finds his companions in Śesha, the serpent king, Indra and the goblins. Śiva is not an expert in the game like Kṛishṇa ; Pārvatī also does not play so freely as Rādhā or the *gopa* maids. The god smears the body of the serpent-king with red ochre and sprinkles *phāg* (red powder) on Gaṅgā whom he has kept in his matted lock. The play continues. The brilliant ashes of the god's body stick to the body of everyone who approaches him. Pārvatī stretches out her hands with a vessel full of water mixed with *phāg* which falls on the garland of skulls around Śiva's neck and reddens it. Pārvatī laughs when he sees that her husband moves about on an ox and his whole body is covered with red powder.

This *holi* scene is found in a hymn to Śiva, its closing lines speaking of the greatness and magnanimity of the god and his spouse.[523]

522. The poet has called this as the *Kuśalī-Kāñchuli* (the tailor and the brassiere) episode. This episode is not found in any other book. *Kuśalī* here means one who is skilled in tailoring. It is indeed a silly tale devoid of good taste.

523. *Indian Antiquary,* Nov. 1900, p. 321 : a hymn recorded by a teacher of the school at Chhawarā Man Village, Dist. Farrukābād :

khelata phāg, Sadāśeo dānī,
śesha, sureśa, sakhā liṅhe,
śesha gaṅga lapaṭānī,
parasata aṅga bhaye aṅga aṅga par,
śobhita raja lapaṭānī,
charaṇa paraiñ pavana o pānī |

An interesting account (given by Mr. Phya Priya Nusasana of the Chulalongkaru University, Bangkok) may be cited in this connection. This is about the great spring-festival (*dol-yātrā*, as is called in this country) in Thailand indigenously called Andalaka Mahosava. The festival is so called because swinging was done by Śiva and Umā for their pleasure. The story goes that in the garden of Nandana Umā one day noticed that somebody in the embrace of his wife having thick breasts set on a swing made of the *mādhavī* creeper and was moving to and fro in that swing. The whole garden, it appears, was gay and happy. On looking at the unknown couple, Umā said to Śiva, "Oh Lord, I am curious to see this couple. Please cause a swing to be made for me and let us swing together." Thereupon Śiva called all great giants and ordered them to construct a swing. The giants raised two firm pillars and ran a horizontal bar across them. Vāsuki was substituted for rope. When the swing was ready, Śiva climbed upon it and began to swing alongwith Umā. The *gandharvas* praised them and the celestial musicians played on their different loud musical instruments. In course of the swinging of Śiva and his consort all big mountains shook, the seven oceans were agitated and winds from all sides blew vehemently. All the gods saw that the whole world was trembling with awe and approached Śiva to stop his swinging lest the whole world would be destroyed. When the gods praised Śiva he listened to their request and jumped down from the swing. In this festival, the women, at times, make

Pārvatī kara kumkum liṅhe haiñ ai bartan tānī
paryo jāya ār muṇḍa mālā par, dauro gulāb asmānī /
Gaurā hañske masukānī /
gail chheñk, chaḍh bail chhail ne,
nar khojata mahārāṇī /
dvija Śeo Śaṅkara, śakti ki opmā
Veda Purāṇa bakhānī /
manoratha deya man māni //

a mixture of colours in water with saffron and pump it out on the people by means of golden horns (as in the case of *holi*). Vishṇu and Laksmī are substituted for Śiva and Umā when the Vaishṇavas of the land perform the festival.[524]

524. See Bose, N. K., *Culture & Society of India*, pp. 79-82. In this context, the *ratha-yātrā* festival of Śiva at Mādurā is interesting to note. This is very much similar to Jagannātha's *ratha-yātrā* at Puri in Orissa and Mahesh in West Bengal. During the spring festival, Śiva is wedded to Mināksh ī, the local goddess, and a leading incident of the rite is the dragging of the images through the streets. For reference see W. Françis, *Madura Gazetteer*, 1906, i, pp. 270, 273.

CONCLUSION

From what has been discussed above it is seen that the idea that 'Man creates God in his own image' has encouraged the authors of Indian literary works of different periods to create Śiva in man's image with all human behaviours. The fact is that the Indian mind, being influenced by this ideology, can feel more at home with a god who is generally an object of fear and adoration. Thus Śiva's presence can be felt far beyond the polar circle of the mind, he can equally be found in the intimacy of the mundane world.

In the early period of our religious history, Śiva is a god of some hill-tribes associated with mountains. Stories cluster round him about his abode on Mount Kailāsa, his marriage with Pārvatī who comes from the Himalayan area. In these stories worldly life is described and all events happen in the northern regions of the Himalayas.

From his manners and behaviours it is apparent that he is a god of the non-Aryan people and his fight against Daksha represents his effort to enter into the fold of the Aryan gods. In course of time, Śiva comes down from his mountain abode and becomes one of the most important gods of the Brahmanical pantheon. As has been discussed in my thesis, the speciality of Śiva is that he is the one, alongwith Vishṇu, in the panel of Brahmanical gods in whom we come across various human qualities, good or bad. In this context, the important point to be remembered is that, in spite of possessing common human traits, Śiva has never lost his godliness, and in him 'man and god have become one'. In Bengal, as gleaned from literary sources, he appears to be more human than divine. In the literary works of other States however, he is more a god than a man. The same note of divine importance in him is also noticed in the source-books of ancient India.

Śiva has always been the popular god of this country. His popularity can be seen from the innumerable temples dedicated to him and from his *liṅga*-forms installed througout the country. The constant references to his feats and deeds in the literary works also attest to his immense popularity. The worship of Rudra assimilated with that of various local gods brings up the Śaiva cult of today which is again the fusion of two major cults—the cult of God and the cult of Man. In Śiva we can see the whole of the Indian mind which is eager to see the blending of worldly life with a life divine. The diverse forms and attributes of the god are well expressed in Sir A. C. Lyall's poem 'Mors Janus vitæ' (*National Review*, May, 1888) beginning with the lines :

"I am the god of the sensuous fire
That moulds all nature in forms divine,
The symbol of death, and of man's desire,
The springs of change in the world are mine ;
The organs of birth, and the circlet of bones,
And the light loves carved on the temple stones."

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PLATES

Plate I.



Rudra-Śiva
Koṇārak, Orissa
C. 13th cent. A.D.
(Stone : Indian Museum, Calcutta collection)

Plate II



Chaturmukhaliṅga
Java
C. 7th Cent. A.D.
(Stone : Indian Museum, Calcutta collection)

Plate III



Ekamukhaliṅga
Sarguja, M.P.
C. 8th cent. A.D.
(Stone : Indian Museum,
Calcutta collection)

Plate IV



Śiva as Śarabha - a combined figure of man, bird and beast
Tribhuvanam, South India
(Bronze : reproduced from Elements of Hindu Iconography
by T. A. Gopinatha Rao, Vol. I, pt. I)

Plate V



Buddha — right hand in *bhūsparśa-mudrā* and left hand in *dhyāna-mudrā*, Bihar
C. 11th cent. A.D.
(Stone : Indian Museum, Calcutta collection)

Plate VI



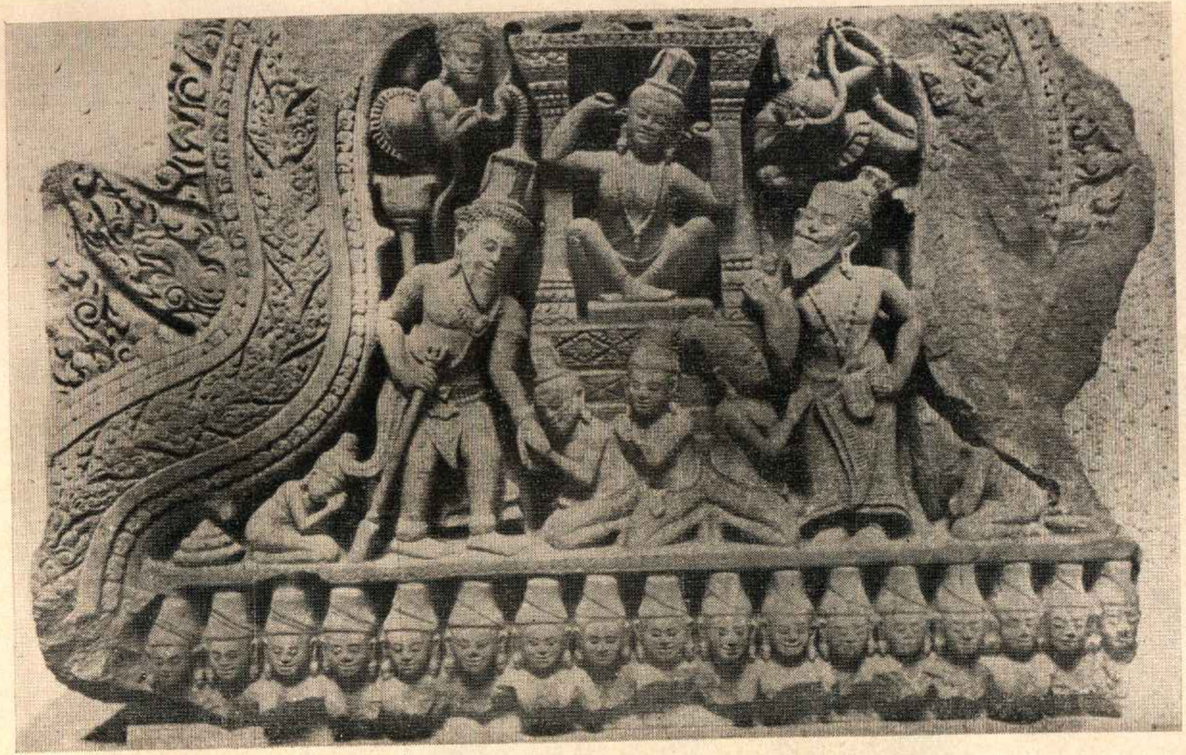
Śiva with right hand in *Vara-mudrā* and left hand in *dhyāna-mudrā*

Java

C. 8th. cent. A.D.

(Stone : Indian Museum, Calcutta collection)

Plate VII



Pārvatī not willing to hear ill remarks from Śiva in the guise of an ascetic standing to the right of Pārvatī

Prah Pitha, Angkor

C. 11th-12th cent. A.D.

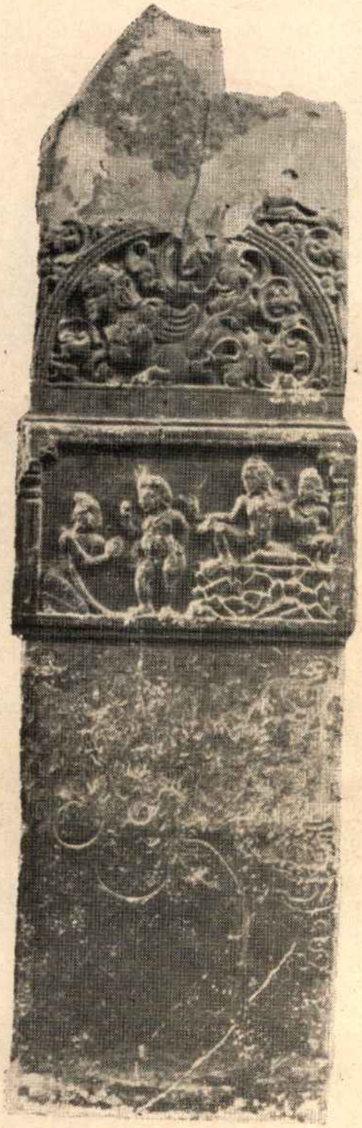
(Stone : Musee Guimet, Paris collection

Plate VIII



Śiva and Pārvatī riding together on a bull
(Reproduced from a Calendar, collected by the author from a street-corner)

Plate IX



Arjuna receiving from Śiva
the Pāśupatāsma
Chandimau, Bihar
C. 5th cent. A.D.
(Stone : Indian Museum,
Calcutta collection)

Plate X



Śiva slaying Audhaka, the demon.
Puri, Orissa
C. 10th cent. A.D.
(Stone : Indian Museum, Calcutta collection)

Plate XI



Śiva playing dice with Pārvatī
(Reproduced from a Calendar, collected by the author from a street-corner)

Plate XII



Naṭarāja
South India
Medieval
(Bronze : Indian Museum, Calcutta collection)

Plate XIII



Vishṇu bathing Śiva, in the form of Kachchhapeśvara
Conjeeveram
South India, Medieval
(Stone : reproduced from *Elements of Hindu Iconography* by T. A. Gopinatha Rao, Vol. I, pt. I)